THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

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VOLUME XVI APRIL, 1942 NUMBER TWO

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EDITORIAL

An outstanding feature of current Mennonite life is the remarkable growth in Christian education. This is particularly noticeable in the field of summer Bible schools for children, and winter Bible schools for younger adults. The summer Bible schools, offering usually a two weeks program to children from four to fifteen, now enroll as many children as the regular Sunday schools, and offer a more systematic curriculum with better teachers. Within the past ten years a notable extension of the number of winter Bible schools, chiefly those offering a two weeks course, together with a significant increase in enrollment in the older six weeks schools, has brought a remarkable increase in enrollment in this type of adult Bible education. In this period the total annual enrollment has increased from an average of less than 400 to an average of 2,000. In 1930-31 there were five schools; in 1940-41 there were nineteen schools. This is a phenomenon worthy of study. Clarence Fretz, now minister in charge of the Philadelphia Mennonite Mission Church, has done this study in a very satisfactory way, having undertaken it as part of the requirements for the M.R.E. degree at the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. In thorough, descriptive, and analytical form he presents basic information on origin, curriculum, staff, policies, enrollments, and related items, which gives for the first time a comprehensive picture of this important feature of Mennonite Church life today.

Two articles in this issue deal with recent discoveries of important editions of early European Mennonite books. The one by Dr. Friedmann describes a remarkable *Sammelband* of doctrinal pamphlets combined with other materials, in which the earliest Mennonite confession of faith, the Schleitheim Articles of 1527, appears in a hitherto unknown edition. Dr. Reichmann's description of the early edition of Thomas von Imbroich found in the Landis Valley Museum Library is also of great interest. It is remarkable that both of these hitherto unknown and important European editions should "turn up" in unexpected corners in America. Both authors give competent and scholarly descriptions of their finds which will be of great value to students of Mennonite history and literature.

The remaining article in this issue, that by George Allen on the Rittenhouse paper mill, while not contributing much directly to Mennonite history, is valuable in that it gives for the first time a complete and adequate story of the paper manufacturing activities of the first paper manufacturer in America and his descendants, William Rittenhouse, who was also the first Mennonite minister in America. As such it is of great interest and value to students of the history of American printing and publishing. The collection of Rittenhouse watermarks reproduced is complete and unique.

THE
Mennonite Quarterly
Review

Vol. XVI No. 2

A HISTORY OF WINTER BIBLE SCHOOLS IN THE MENNONITE CHURCH

CLARENCE FRETZ

I

INTRODUCTION

During the past century a variety of agencies have been developed in America for the religious education of youth. These have been of two kinds—those which meet regularly once or twice a week for a limited or an indefinite time, such as the Sunday school, leadership training classes, and Sunday evening young people's meetings; and those which meet for daily study for a definite length of time. The latter range from two or three-day young people's retreats to three to six-year courses in Bible institutes, church colleges, and seminaries. The problem has usually been to develop the type of agency which will best serve the needs of the young people, and different denominations have worked out different types. In the Mennonite Church, a unique type, the winter Bible school, has been developed.

Statement of problem. It was the purpose of this study to investigate the origin, development, and present status of the winter Bible schools in the Mennonite Church.

Importance of the problem. The winter Bible schools have reached and served a large number of the young people of the Mennonite

Church. According to S. G. Shetler,[1] the 1939 attendance was above two thousand, consisting mostly of young people.

Definition of terms used. For the purposes of this investigation the term Winter Bible School is defined as follows:

Winter Bible School is a school in which the Bible and related subjects are taught for a term of from two to twelve weeks during the winter months.

These schools have also been known by the following names: Short Bible Term, Special Bible Term, Short Term Bible School, Bible Study Class, and Bible School. At present, most of them are called Winter Bible School or simply Bible School. They are called Winter Bible Schools in the 1941 *Mennonite Year Book and Directory*. Therefore the term Winter Bible School will be used in this study, unless a particular school is being referred to, which at the time was called by a different name. All the winter Bible schools which have ever been in existence in the Mennonite Church will be treated in this survey.

By the term Mennonite Church is understood that body of Christians in the United States and Canada which is known in the federal census reports by the name "Mennonite Church." It consists of fifteen district conferences, with a total membership of 59,678 (in 1941).

II

THE GOSHEN COLLEGE WINTER BIBLE SCHOOL

No history of this winter Bible school has yet been written. As far as is known it is the oldest one in the Mennonite Church, having been held practically continuously, except for one year, for the last forty-one years. A detailed study of its origin and development will contribute much to an understanding of the development of the winter Bible school movement in the Mennonite Church. An account of its origin and organization has been obtained from I. E. Burkhart, present secretary of the school, who was able to consult J. S. Hartzler, one of its founders, who is still living. Bulletins and catalogs furnish a record of curricular offerings, and the monthly periodical of the college contains references to the school in the months it was held. These publications are on file in the Goshen College Mennon-

1. S. G. Shetler, "Winter Bible Schools," *Mennonite Year Book and Directory*, 1941, p. 27.

ite Historical Library, and it was from them that the writer was able to construct an account of the development of the school.

Origin. Goshen College Winter Bible School was originally known as the Elkhart Institute Short Bible Term, and had its beginnings at the Elkhart Institute, Elkhart, Indiana, which was moved to Goshen in 1903-04, to become Goshen College. This "Short Bible Term" was established "to give Bible training for those who could not take the full year's work."[2] The first session at Elkhart opened on January 24, 1900, and continued for four weeks. A session has been held every year since except during 1923-24, when Goshen College was temporarily closed.

Valuable light on the establishment of the school was secured by I. E. Burkhart in an interview with J. S. Hartzler, one of the founders and for many years a teacher. The following is Burkhart's report of the interview:

> It was jointly the idea of J. S. Hartzler and John S. Coffman (deceased). Coffman was president of the board of trustees of the Elkhart Institute and Hartzler was secretary. Both were ordained ministers. There was a local board responsible for the Institute, the successor to which was the Mennonite Board of Education, organized in 1905. The idea was initiated by Hartzler and Coffman, and endorsed by the men on the board and Bishop D. J. Johns of Goshen. At that time Coffman traveled extensively among the churches and gave his attention largely to the interests of educational work in the church. The idea was not taken up with any conference organization but was sponsored by those who had a direct interest in the work.
>
> Hartzler says the winter school was a feeder for the regular session, and also that as long as he was in the work (until 1917) no educational requirement was made of the students such as grades and examinations, that is, none were recorded. The negotiations to get endorsement for the beginning of the Winter School were carried on by personal contact and by correspondence with those thought to be interested. I asked Hartzler if he had any letters in his files and he replied: "In those days we did not keep files or correspondence." Coffman died in July, 1899. Hartzler claims they started discussion of the plan in 1898.[3]

Organization. The Elkhart Institute administration, later Goshen College administration, had charge of the special Bible term. In this capacity, it had the responsibility of selecting school officials and teachers for this term, and of deciding the financial arrangements. Two capable Bible teachers were secured to teach Bible courses during the four-week term, and still other Bible and related

2. *Elkhart Institute Catalog,* 1899-1900, p. 19.
3. Interview with Hartzler, January 18, 1941, by I. E. Burkhart.

subjects were taught by regular members of the Institute faculty. This plan was followed in succeeding years both in this school and in other church school winter Bible schools. Teachers were paid by funds raised through tuition charges. These charges at first totaled four dollars for tuition for four weeks. Board averaged two dollars a week, and room rent fifty cents per week. Tuition was offered free to ministers.[4] The head of the Bible department of the college had the responsibility for the selection of courses to be taught. Full use was made of the Institute's educational facilities, such as classrooms and library. Board was furnished at the school, and rooms were provided in private homes.

There was little change in the plan of administration until the year 1935-36 when a principal and a secretary of the "Winter Bible School"[5] were appointed. The reason for this appointment was the feeling of the administration that the work could be promoted more adequately. Now (1941) the president and dean of the college share with the principal of the Winter Bible School the responsibility of selecting the Winter Bible School officials and teachers. The college administration is directly responsible to the Mennonite Board of Education, but the Board of Education does not pass on the Winter Bible School teachers. Other duties of the principal include general contact with the church and general oversight during the school term. The secretary is given the responsibility for publicity, the curriculum, and educational administration.

Development. According to the Elkhart Institute catalog for 1899-1900, the courses offered the first year of the "Short Bible Term" were Church History, Church Doctrine, Sunday School Normal, and Bible Outlines. There was to be "a Bible class each hour of the day." This was attained by the plan described in the Short Bible Term bulletin issued later, in which it is stated that the third term of the regular Bible course of the Institute was open to the short term students besides the courses offered by the Short Bible Term teachers. These included New Testament History, Gospels, Bible Geography (New Testament), General and Church History, Prophets, Epistles, English Grammar, Literature and Rhetoric, and Pedagogy. A similar roster of courses was offered for several years following. Daniel Kauffman was the special teacher for the first three

4. *Elkhart Institute Short Bible Term Bulletin 1899-1900.*
5. Name adopted in 1932, according to I. E. Burkhart, at the suggestion of Dean H. S. Bender.

years. In 1901, it was planned to enhance the curriculum by the addition of courses in Missions and Bible Lands, to be taught by A. D. Wenger, lately returned from an around-the-world tour, but sickness delayed this until the year following. In 1903 George R. Brunk took the place of Daniel Kauffman as special instructor, followed by John Blosser in 1904. In 1901 and in 1903 revival meetings were held, resulting in spiritual awakening both on the part of the short term students and the regular students of the Institute. While such meetings were held during subsequent short terms,[6] this was not permanently continued and they are now held in the fall. In 1902, the plan of having the short term coincide with the first four weeks of the third term of the regular school year was given up, and it was decided to have the short term begin immediately after the Christmas vacation.

In 1903-04 the school was transferred to Goshen, and the winter short term was held in the partly finished buildings of Goshen College. The following year the college administration outlined a two-year course for the short term, leading to a certificate of proficiency, on the passing of the final examinations. The term was lengthened to six weeks. The complete roster of courses follows:

First year—Gospels, Acts, Sunday School Normal, Music
Second year—Epistles, Church Doctrines, Church History, Missions

Both the first year courses and the second year courses were to be offered each year. However, no examinations were given after all and the certificate was never granted, although the plan was attempted for a few years. "It was only a vision."[7] It was more than twenty years until any winter Bible school granted diplomas to graduates of a prescribed course.

A former missionary to India, I. R. Detweiler, was secured to teach the course in Missions in the above two-year course. This special feature, namely, the Missions course taught by a missionary, was continued with few exceptions for fifteen or sixteen years, and occasionally since.

In the winter of 1907-08, the Short Bible Term was held before, instead of after, the Christmas vacation. The reason given in the short term bulletin was that "after vacation the regular school is most filled up." The term was reduced to four weeks, but followed

6. J. S. Hartzler thinks they were held as long as he was there (1917).
7. J. S. Hartzler, interviewed by I. E. Burkhart, March, 1941.

by a Bible conference during the vacation period. A similar arrangement was followed until 1912-13. The change, however, was accompanied by a decrease in the attendance. The administration explained that more young people were taking regular school work, and that there were many Bible conferences throughout the church which would draw away the attendance at the Short Bible Term at the college.[8] Further experimentation proved, however, that the best time for the school was after the Christmas vacation, and after 1917 the school was regularly held at that time. Perhaps it was found that this time was most favorable for the predominantly rural Mennonite constituency—a time when there would be least work to do on the farm. At any rate, all the leading six-week winter Bible schools in the Mennonite Church are now held at this time of the year.

In 1914-15 and 1915-16, a six-week term, beginning in the early part of December and continuing through the vacation period, was arranged for. Four missions courses were offered, all taught by missionaries, and it was planned to have students in these classes spend the holiday week in observation of actual mission work; e.g., the city missions class observed work at the Mennonite Mission in Chicago. Although this plan was given up after these two years because of traveling expenses involved, yet the emphasis placed on missions at the Goshen Short Bible Term continued to be a distinctive feature up to the present, except perhaps during the period from 1928 to 1934, when only one course was offered.

Despite the introduction of special features, the attendance at the Short Bible Term continued to decline. In 1917-18, Agriculture and Domestic Science courses were offered as an added attraction, and a special conference, with "lectures on general church subjects"[9] was planned for the last week of the term. This being the year of the war, the attendance was lower than ever before.

In the following years, all sorts of changes were made. There were changes in administration, in teaching personnel, in the curriculum, and in the length of the short Bible term. Special lectures were offered annually; sometimes there were special conferences. All this was to no avail so far as the attendance was concerned—it continued

8. Annual report of administration of Goshen College to the Mennonite Board of Education, 1908.

9. According to J. S. Hartzler this was somewhat like a ministers' meeting. There were about twenty in attendance, most of whom were ministers.

to decline. War and post-war conditions, influenza, snowstorms, but perhaps most of all the church's lack of confidence in the school—all seemed to work against the attendance, and in 1922-23, the attendance was only twelve.

The following year, 1923-24, Goshen College was closed. After reorganization took place and it was re-opened in 1924-25, a six-week "Special Bible Term" was offered, with courses in Bible Doctrine, Book Study, Church History, Sunday School Methods, Agriculture, and Music. There were to be seven lectures and two chorus programs. Thirty-two students attended, and the administration reported "the work of the term an entire success"; the Special Bible Term students "took part in student activity and attended faithfully and helped in the religious meetings of the school."[10] The next year, courses in Bible Geography and Introduction to the Study of Literature were added, and the book of Genesis was offered to those who wished to be prepared to teach it in the Sunday school lessons for the last three quarters of the year. The attendance increased to fifty-three.

In 1927, a Ministers' Week and a Christian Life Conference were held. The Ministers' Week was introduced at Hesston in 1925 and at Johnstown Bible School in 1926, but the Christian Life Conference was introduced at Goshen College, though "Christian Workers' Conferences" had been held earlier at Johnstown. Since then these features have been included almost continuously in a number of winter Bible schools. Some changes and improvements were also made in the curriculum, but the attendance dropped to twenty, and the next year to seventeen. The administration reported "a thorough reorganization necessary."[11]

The reorganization took place the following year, 1929. Instead of a general curriculum, the school started offering a six-year cycle, similar to those successfully operating in the winter Bible schools at Kitchener, Ontario, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania. By this plan, the Bible, Bible Doctrines, Church History, and certain Bible Introduction and Practical Work Courses were covered in a six-year cycle.[12] Music and the Sunday School Lessons were to be offered practically every year. A slight increase in attendance took place.

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10. *Annual Report to the Mennonite Board of Education,* 1925.
11. *Annual Report to the Mennonite Board of Education,* 1928.
12. I. E. Burkhart in questionnaire, January 20, 1941.

The next year, 1930, a Sunday School Superintendents' Conference was offered as a special feature, but the administration reported with reference to the still low attendance, "We find it increasingly difficult to compete with the various community Bible schools, where the expenses are moderate."[13]

In 1932, a Christian Workers' Institute was held, and a Special Bible Term students' organization (for programs and social features) was effected. A five-week term was held, one teacher offering his courses for the first three weeks, and another offering his for the last two weeks. Only eleven students enrolled to try out this plan.

In 1933 the amount of special features was increased. The school was held for four weeks, six days a week; a City Missions' Conference was planned, as well as lectures on the Bible, History, Astronomy, and other subjects; students were invited to join the regular students' organizations, and a Bible school literary society and a Bible school prayer circle were organized; the charges for room, board, and tuition were reduced—all without resulting in a very large attendance.

In 1934, a six-week term was held, and planned features included a Ministers' and Sunday School Workers' Week, a Christian Life Conference, a Mission Conference, and opportunities to join student organizations, especially the Bible School Circle. The curriculum included the Elementary Teacher Training Courses that had been outlined by the General Sunday School Committee of the Mennonite Church. Since this was the sixth year of the six-year cycle, commencement exercises were planned for February eighth, for those who had completed the six years of work. No record of any graduate exists, although one graduated the next year. As was true in other schools which ran a six-year course, few students could be induced to attend for six terms, and this six-year plan had to be given up.

The next year, 1935, a four-year course of study, nine weeks a year, was outlined. The nine-week term was to be divided into two semesters of four and a half weeks each, but this experiment failed—very few students were interested in the second semester and it was not carried through. The following year a Winter Bible School Committee was appointed and a three-year course of study of six weeks each was outlined. Tuition and other expenses were reduced. A Christian Life Conference, a two-week Ministers' Course and a

13. *Annual Report to the Mennonite Board of Education,* 1930.

Sunday School Workers' Institute were planned, and student activities stressed. This was in 1936. A marked improvement in attendance resulted. Since then further improvements have been offered each year. Attendance has steadily increased, and each year a number of students have graduated from the three-year course. The 1940 attendance was one hundred four, the highest in the school's history.[14]

The Goshen College Winter Bible School is at last on a permanent basis. The experimental stage seems to be past. In the words of I. E. Burkhart, its secretary since 1936, we find the conclusion of its long period of development:

> The Winter Bible School has found a field of distinctive service. It is no longer primarily a feeder for the college and a creator of interest in education, but has come to fill the need of social, educational, and religious experience desired by many young people who do not plan to go to college.
>
> While the articulation between the Winter Bible School and church is at present very encouraging, we should prepare to meet the new problems that may arise in the future. These problems are likely to grow out of the fact that many of the elementary courses ordinarily given by the Winter Bible School are already being offered in some of the local churches, so that in the future the Winter Bible School may need to offer more advanced and more specialized courses to smaller student groups.

III

THE ONTARIO MENNONITE BIBLE SCHOOL

The Ontario Mennonite Bible School is the oldest conference winter Bible school in the Mennonite Church. Most of the Mennonite winter Bible schools are local schools, held either under the auspices of a district conference or a local congregation. Consequently, a history of this school will serve excellently as a background to a study of the winter Bible schools which grew up without the concentration of educational leadership which is found at our church colleges and academies. But apart from this, O. M. B. S. has no doubt had the greatest influence of any Bible school in the Mennonite Church.

Origin. As we have seen, the Goshen College Winter Bible School was established as a short term in Bible for those who could not take

14. Except where otherwise noted, the material in this section has been gleaned from the annual Goshen College catalogs and short Bible term bulletins; interesting sidelights on school life during the short term were found in the *Goshen College Record*, the school news magazine. The attendance statistics are based on those of I. E. Burkhart.

a full year's work. This was both a natural and a convenient measure on the part of the school administration. How did it come to pass that a school was begun in a rural area, far from church educational centers? According to the catalog of the Ontario Mennonite Bible School,[15] the Bible conferences held in the Mennonite churches paved the way for more extended study of the Bible. These conferences usually were held for a few days, perhaps over a week-end, at a local church and featured addresses on Bible subjects by leading Mennonite Bible teachers. It was reasoned that if two or three days of Bible study proved a real spiritual help, a still larger benefit would be realized if the Bible and kindred subjects could be systematically studied for several weeks, meeting five days a week.

Consequently, an appeal was made in 1906 to the Ontario Mennonite Conference for a prolonged period of Bible study. The leaders in this movement were S. F. Coffman and L. J. Burkholder, ministers in the conference district. The conference acted favorably on the appeal, and granted the privilege to conduct a "Bible Study Class."[16]

Berlin (now called Kitchener), Ontario, was chosen as the place for the first session. A Bible conference was held in the Berlin Mennonite Church from January 7 to 11, 1907, followed by a four-week course of Bible study, beginning January 14.[17] A session has been held every year since, except during 1909, usually during January and February.

Organization. S. F. Coffman and L. J. Burkholder were given charge of the school, and served as the first instructors. The former, acting as principal, was given the responsibility of selecting and arranging the courses to be taught. A committee, appointed by the conference and called the "Bible Conference and Bible School Committee," was given charge of making the financial arrangements.

Later on, in 1923, a "Bible Study Board" of three members was formed to look after the school. As time went on, it was expanded to a membership of five, and called a "Bible School Board." More recently, it was further expanded to a membership of nine in order to include representatives from the entire conference district.[18] In

15. p. 2. See J. B. Martin, "The Ontario Mennonite Bible School," *Bulletin of the Mennonite Board of Education,* I :4, 1931.

16. This name was used at least till 1924. Present name was adopted about 1928, according to S. F. Coffman.

17. Announcements, *Gospel Witness,* 1907, II, p. 656.

18. The Ontario Conference added a tenth in June, 1941, to represent the alumni.

1932 a constitution was drawn up and adopted by the Ontario Mennonite Conference. According to this constitution, the annual conference is to elect for three-year membership on the Bible School Board "brethren who are qualified as to their membership in their respective congregations and interest in the work of the Bible School."[19] The principal is an ex-officio member of the Board. His duties, according to the constitution, are to (1) call a meeting of the faculty each week to consider interests and problems of the school, (2) have oversight of the courses of study, and (3) have charge of the discipline of the school, as well as of all matters which involve the student body. The Bible School Board determines finances. In the beginning a tuition charge of seventy-five cents per week, and contributions from churches, supplied funds to carry on the school. Since 1923 the Bible School also derives income from the boarding of students, and from a small endowment fund which has been established. The teachers are paid a fixed salary plus an allowance for expenses. A business manager was appointed in 1936, who now looks after school supplies, food, etc., collects student fees for board, room, and tuition, and transacts general school business. The constitution also provides for the appointment of an adviser for men and a matron for women, to counsel with students and to grant permission to students for absences on school days.

Location. This school has always been held in the city of Kitchener (known as Berlin before World War I). Kitchener is centrally located in a large Mennonite community. Indeed, the greater number of the Mennonites in the Ontario Conference live in this region (Waterloo County).

However, it was many years before a permanent place was found in the city in which to hold the school. The first session was held in the Mennonite Church of Kitchener (Berlin). In 1915, the "Bible Study Class" (as the school was then known) was held in the former Wendell Shantz home. In 1916 it met in a former Jewish synagogue, and the next year in the "Glick Block." The Merchants' Bank Building was tried in 1918, only to be given up the second week because of lack of heat. For the rest of the term and also the following year the "Class" was held in the M. C. Cressman Block above the Cressman store. In 1920 it was held again in the First Mennonite Church, which has been its location ever since. However, in 1927 the need of

19. Constitution and by-laws of the Ontario Mennonite Bible School Board, 1932.

a larger building became evident, and at the suggestion of the First Mennonite Church the Ontario Conference decided to build an annex to the church to serve as a Bible school building. The first session of school to be held in the new Bible School Annex was in 1928, where it has been held annually since.

Development. During the first four-week session, with Coffman and Burkholder as instructors, the following courses were taught: Gospels (Luke), Acts, Sunday School Work (Lesson Study Teaching) and Old Testament Studies. In day and evening classes there were enrolled about sixty-five.[20] The next year, 1908, the Class was held only two weeks, and in 1909 it was not held at all. But in 1910 it was re-opened with Coffman as sole instructor, and no doubt due to his resolute leadership it has continued annually (in the face of many difficulties) to the present day.

A picture of those early struggles can be obtained from a study of Coffman's personal records. After holding the school for a four-week term for two years, Coffman introduced and established a permanent course of study covering six years of six weeks each.[21] This was in 1912, and it was a significant step in the history of the winter Bible school movement. Seven years earlier Goshen had introduced a two-year course of study, but it was not permanent. Indeed, by this time it had been given up and various sundry courses had taken its place. No other winter Bible school attempted such a cycle until after Coffman had revised and improved his course, and had entered the second six-year cycle. At the present time the majority of these schools have some similar arrangement.

This first six-year plan was quite simple, and perhaps not altogether rigidly adhered to. We list here the course offerings for the six years it was followed:

	Old Testament	*Gospels*	*Methods of Study*	*S. S. Normal*	*Music*
1912	O. T. Hist.-Gen.	Mark	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	
1913	Exodus	Matthew	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	
1914	O. T. Poetry	John	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	
1915	Num., Deut.	Luke	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	Music
1916	Prophecy	Revelation	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	Music
1917	O. T. Prophecy	John	(Using Epistles)	S. S. Normal	Music

20. Field Notes, *Gospel Witness,* II, 656, 749, Cf. pp. 698, 714.

21. Coffman says this course was examined and approved by the president of Goshen College and given credit for one year in the Academy Bible course of that institution.

Few students systematically followed through the entire cycle. Indeed, it appears to have been a problem to get them to finish a single six-week term. For example, during the first three years, although as many as fifty-two enrolled during a term, there were never more than twenty-five who attended the full six weeks and took the examinations.[22] In 1915 Music was introduced, and there were also special lectures on Agriculture, Domestic Science, and Health—a feature continued for three years until the Province began offering such lectures in agricultural short courses. But this resulted in no gain in attendance nor in the number of those attending for an entire term. On the contrary, in 1917, the last year of the cycle, when an eight-week term was attempted, the attendance was lower than before and only four students attended the full eight weeks.[23] This condition has continued to exist to some degree to the present time. Although the term of the Ontario Mennonite Bible School is now twelve weeks in length, only about fifty per cent take the examinations at the end of the term, "since not all complete the twelve weeks attendance."[24] This ratio has changed in recent years; in 1941, 115 of the 140 students took examinations.

There are other interesting features to be noted in the early years of the school. In 1913 the Class constructed a model of the tabernacle, which proved useful in teaching Old Testament subjects. Other winter Bible schools have since done the same thing. In 1914 a "Boarding Club" was organized. This was an organization of the students for the purpose of taking charge of their own boarding arrangements and expenses. This plan was followed for many years. There was also a general student organization, which has been continued to the present time, with numerous subcommittees who arrange and provide for student activities. An evening class was held in 1907,[25] and in 1917, but the writer is unable to discover in what other years this was held. Although this "evening class" was only a series of lectures, yet it was another evidence of the school's leadership. This was the first school to have evening classes. It has held

22. Students were not required to register for the full term, but were welcome to take whatever portion they could. By 1916, two students had completed the required 36 weeks' attendance, and were promised diplomas when they would be issued. They received them in 1928 (S. F. Coffman).

23. Number attending only one week, 2; for two weeks, 6; three weeks, 6; four weeks, 4; five weeks, 2; six weeks, 4; seven weeks, 4.

24. J. B. Martin, questionnaire, March, 1941.

25. L. J. Burkholder, "Report of the Berlin Bible Study," *Gospel Witness,* II, 749.

them continuously since 1935, and at the present time has the largest evening class enrollment.

We return now to curricular development. The second six-year cycle began in 1918. New courses were introduced and a few re-arrangements were made in the previous cycle of study. An additional teacher, Oscar Burkholder, assisted in 1919, and from 1921 on was regularly on the staff. But again, no students completed the six-year cycle, and but a minority finished the work for any entire six-week term. In 1920 in particular, there was considerable irregularity. Only nine out of forty-six enrolled attended for six weeks, and no examinations were given. The number taking examinations never exceeded twenty in any of these six years.

But the leaders of the school kept on. The next six-year cycle, 1924-29, included added subjects, and was still more systematically arranged. The work was now under the Bible Study Board appointed by Ontario Mennonite Conference. The first two years of the cycle showed but slight increase in attendance, but there were signs of an awakening interest. The 1925 student body donated its Boarding Club profits ($57.30) to a permanent Bible Study Fund, and adopted one hundred fifty as their group aim for the next year's enrollment. In 1926 sixty-four enrolled, forty-four took examinations, and $112 was donated to the permanent fund. The next year the attendance increased to 102. The term was lengthened to seven weeks, periods were shortened from sixty to forty-five minutes, and more courses were offered. Crowded conditions led the Conference to authorize the building of the Bible School Annex to the Kitchener Mennonite Church for the 1928 term. The term was now lengthened to eight weeks and 158 students enrolled, eighty-eight of whom attended the entire eight weeks. The average length of time spent at school was five and four-tenths weeks. A "Ministers' Week" was held in connection with this term, with an enrollment of fifty-eight. But the crowning event of the 1928 term was that at the conclusion of the term four students were awarded diplomas for completion of the six-year course—the first graduates in the history of the school.

In 1929—the term was further lengthened to twelve weeks. This was the sixth year of the six-year course. An additional teacher, C. F. Derstine,[26] was added to the faculty, and more courses were offered.

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26. The pastor of the Kitchener congregation since 1924. He had given various series of lectures up to this time.

There were fourteen graduates, including Oscar Burkholder, who had served for nine winters as an instructor!

The next year, 1930, was an important one. A three-year course of twelve weeks each year was established, and the first year of the course offered. This three-year course has been followed, with few changes, in cycle fashion since, e.g., in 1931 the second year of work was offered, in 1932 the third year, in 1933 the first year, and so forth. Since 1930 the attendance has averaged over 150, and more than 200 students have graduated from the thirty-six week course. Begun as a conference school, the Ontario Mennonite Bible School began in 1928 to draw students from the United States, and at the present time enrolls about 30 per cent of its student body from across the border. Supplementary advanced courses are offered for those who have completed the regular three-year course, and diplomas have been granted to two for the completion of three additional years of work. According to J. B. Martin, the school's present concern is "Keeping the courses of study to a standard of practical service to Christian workers and spiritual needs of the Church; maintaining the school on a basis making possible the attendance of all worthy students and workers as well as young people in the Church for their spiritual enlightenment and uplift."[27]

IV

HESSTON COLLEGE WINTER BIBLE SCHOOL[28]

Origin. Hesston Academy and Bible School's first term of regular school work was opened on September 22, 1909. It was during the winter, beginning on January 10, 1910, that the first Special Bible Term was held for a period of four weeks. The first Special Bible Term bulletin contained the following announcement: "The work of the special Bible term will be somewhat similar to that usually done at the local Bible normals and Bible conferences but it will be more extended, connected, and complete." The second bulletin said: "The purpose of the Special Bible Term is to provide a short course of instruction in the Bible along doctrinal lines for those unable to attend to take the regular course."

27. J. B. Martin, in reply to questionnaire, March, 1941, furnishes this quotation and the statistics in the last paragraph. The bulk of the material in the section entitled "Development" is based on the personal records of S. F. Coffman, a founder and leader of the school, who kindly loaned them to the writer in 1938.

28. Known as "Hesston College and Bible School Special Bible Term" until 1940.

Organization. The administration of the Academy not only initiated the Special Bible Term, but also assumed full responsibility for its administration. The principal of the school (D. H. Bender) had been a special Bible term instructor at Goshen College, so the plan followed was similar to that which had been worked out at Goshen. Leading Mennonite Bible teachers were secured to teach special Bible term subjects; usually one such teacher was invited to come in for each special term, sometimes two or three. In addition, several of the regular faculty members taught one or two short courses for the special Bible term students. The regular school work was open to special Bible term students, too. This plan has been followed to the present time. In 1938, a special Bible term director, and a matron, were appointed to take charge of the special Bible term group in matters of discipline, school life, etc. The Director serves as class sponsor of the special Bible term group, and also teaches a few courses. This arrangement has been continued with success.

Development. The special Bible term instructors for the first session were J. B. Smith and George R. Brunk. Part of their teaching was in the form of lectures on doctrinal subjects. Together they gave four lessons each day, one of which was given in the evening at seven o'clock. Courses in Sunday School Teacher Training, Old Testament History and Ancient History were given by regular faculty members. The program was so arranged that the regular students could attend most of the extra Bible classes.

The following winter, J. B. Smith was secured as head of the Bible department and the curriculum was given a more definite and permanent form. The following courses were offered not only for this second term, but for at least ten or twelve years following: Old Testament History, New Testament History, Bible Geography, Doctrines, Sunday School Teacher Training, Vocal Music. Courses in Gospels, Epistles, and Church History were also offered, but were offered irregularly afterwards. A course in Methods of Bible Study, or in Biblical Introduction became an almost regular feature from 1912 on. Courses in Missions, Christian Work, and Bible Book Study, were also introduced in 1912 and occasionally offered afterwards. Agriculture was introduced as an annual feature in 1916. As far as can be observed, there was no system of rotation of courses in the earlier years. In 1917-18, the term was lengthened from four to six weeks.

Special lectures were an important annual feature from the start. Beginning with the year 1924-25, Hesston College and Bible School began to include lectures and courses of special value to ministers in connection with the special Bible term. This was a real need, since Mennonite ministers are largely without special training. The Annual Ministerial Meeting of the local Mennonite Conference had once been held at Hesston, but not during the special Bible term. But in 1925, a Ministers' Week was introduced as a feature of the special Bible term and became an annual feature not only at Hesston, but in other winter Bible schools. Milo Kauffman gives the following account of this innovation:

> The Special Term Bulletin, November 1924 states, "The second week of Bible Term, following immediately after the Christian Workers' Conference held at Hesston from January 9-11, will be devoted especially to give help to ministers. Five daily courses will be offered: 1. Second Coming of Christ, 2. Sermon Making, 3. Ministerial Problems, 4. Book Study, 5. The Working Program of the Church. A year later the November, 1925, bulletin announcing a Special Bible Term says, "Last year one week of Bible Term was designated as preacher's week. . . . This week was so well attended and favorably received that we are repeating the feature this year."[29]

The following year, the administration reported that many ministers attended one or more weeks of the six-week term, in addition to being present for the Ministers' Week held the second to last week of the special term. For some reason Hesston did not permanently continue this feature. Since 1931, the writer was able to find record of only one such effort, a "Ministers' and Sunday School Workers' Conference" in 1938-39. However, since 1935-36 the six-week curriculum has included special courses for ministers and Christian workers.

Other special features have been offered by the school in connection with the special Bible term, but there seems to have been more variety than continuity and development. In 1926 there was a "Mission Week," in 1927 a "Young People's Week,"[30] a "Conference of Christian Doctrine and Life" in 1929, and a "Special Bible Week" in 1931. In 1939 the term lasted for only five weeks, and was followed by a special week of lectures. A Christian Life Conference has been held occasionally. Beginning about 1934 special Bible term

29. Milo Kauffman, in a personal letter to the writer, April 4, 1941.

30. To consider problems of Christian life and life work; discussions on such subjects as nursing, medicine, farming, home-making, education, and mission work.

organizations have been maintained, such as a special Bible term literary society.

In 1930, a six-year cycle of courses was begun. The idea was borrowed and adapted from Goshen's cycle introduced the year before. This was continued until 1938, when the first of a three-year cycle of courses was offered. This too was adapted from the one introduced at Goshen in 1935-36.

The attendance for the first term was fifteen. It climbed unsteadily to sixty in the next ten years, then fell off, and averaged less than twenty-five until 1932 (the year in which Milo Kauffman became president), when it rose to fifty-six. Since then it has definitely increased, in 1938 reaching 100. This school draws its students from a large territory, aiming to serve Mennonite young people in at least thirteen states west of the Mississippi River. Students have also come from seven or eight eastern states.[31]

V

THE EASTERN MENNONITE SCHOOL SPECIAL BIBLE TERM

The Eastern Mennonite School, near Harrisonburg, Virginia, is a Mennonite high school and junior college which began as a short term winter Bible school. A "Special Bible Term" has been maintained all through its history and has undergone a steady development. Inasmuch as it is the oldest permanent Bible school in the eastern part of the Mennonite Church, and has enjoyed a steady patronage, an account of its development deserves a place in the history of the development of the winter Bible schools.

Origin. The earliest special Bible terms of the Eastern Mennonite School were the advance terms of the Eastern Mennonite School academy launched in 1917. A study, then, of the origins of the Eastern Mennonite School Special Bible Term will involve consideration of the rise of secondary education in the eastern portion of the Mennonite Church, (because it was the larger movement that brought the short Bible term into being). This portion of the church, comprising four Mennonite conferences, and part of a fifth, in Pennsyl-

31. Hesston College and Bible School Special Bible Term bulletins, and reports to the Mennonite Board of Education served as the chief source of information for the material in this section.

vania, Maryland, and Virginia, has a total membership of almost 23,000 or about two fifths of the total membership of the Mennonite Church in United States and Canada.

In 1912 this large portion of the Mennonite Church had no church school facilities nearer than Goshen, Indiana. Moreover, being the more conservative portion of the church, it was largely out of sympathy with the more progressive elements in the leadership at Goshen College. A need was felt for an eastern Mennonite school on the part of such as were not opposed to higher education altogether.[32] The immediate impetus for the opening of a school came in the Warwick River congregation at Denbigh, Virginia, according to the 1938-39 catalog of the Eastern Mennonite School, which gives the following:

> The unsatisfactory condition of the local school aroused the brotherhood to take steps to build a church school in which our young people might also receive religious instruction while getting their education. In 1912 and 1913 as many as eleven meetings were held. Committees were appointed for the purpose of founding a school. A site was secured just opposite the church house and some sand was hauled with intention to build at once. At the last few meetings, however, strong sentiment developed in favor of locating the school more centrally for the membership of the East.

Early in the year 1913 organized effort was begun looking toward the founding of an institution that would supply the need of the entire eastern constituency, and would "elicit a hearty encouragement and support of the brotherhood."[33] The Hayfield Mansion near Alexandria, Virginia, was for sale, and since it was thought it would fulfil the need for a more central location, it was purchased "by several interested brethren."[34] "Other brethren from other sections were also more favorable to the latter location."[35] In October, the Virginia Conference was consulted, and decided as follows:

> Would it be agreeable to this Conference for brethren who feel interested, and desire to [do so, to] contribute of their means, patronage, and influence, to the organization and maintenance of a church school at the proposed location near Alexandria, Va., said school to be conducted in accordance with the constitution and by-laws submitted for the consideration of this and other conferences?

32. *Catalog of the Eastern Mennonite School,* 1918-19.

33. *Catalog of Eastern Mennonite School,* 1918-19.

34. M. J. Brunk, "Historical Review," *The Eastern Mennonite School Journal,* Twentieth Anniversary Number, November, 1937, p. 3.

35. *E. M. S. Catalog,* 1938-39, p. 13.

After a lengthy discussion the query was decided in the affirmative without a dissenting voice.[36]

The interest and support of other sections was also sought. On a cordial invitation by the church officials at Maugansville, Maryland, a general meeting was held there on February 17 and 18, 1914. "This meeting placed itself on record as favoring the establishment of a Mennonite School in the East. A Board of Education and several committees were appointed and steps were taken for the purpose of securing a principal and deciding upon a suitable location."[37] However, there was considerable delay in realizing these purposes, and the school did not open the following fall. But the leaders in the movement were not idle. Another record gives the following, an effort to have a short Bible term at least:

A public meeting of the Eastern School Board was held at Waynesboro, Virginia, on October 9, 1914, to officially consider the question of launching a school project. At this meeting the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, that the Faculty Committee be authorized to arrange a course of study for the Short Bible Term, to secure competent instructors, and to arrange for the time of such a course.

Resolved, that the Religious Welfare Committee act in the capacity of arranging all necessities for said term of school except as arranged for in appointment of previous committees. [38]

In December announcement was made that a Short Bible Term would be held at Hayfield Mansion, near Alexandria, Virginia, from January 12 to February 9, 1915, with courses covering the following subjects: Bible Doctrine, Sunday School Normal Work, Workers' Equipment, Bible Study, and Vocal Music. Three of the instructors announced for this term were from Virginia, and one, Daniel Kauffman, who was also to serve as principal, was from Pennsylvania. The sponsors announced, "A hearty invitation is extended to all who are interested in becoming better acquainted with God's Word and in equipping themselves in special lines of Christian work . . . A large attendance is expected to take advantage of the work offered in this short Bible term."[39] This term was held much as planned, and

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36. *Conference Minutes of Virginia Mennonite Conference,* October 10, 11, 1913, No. 341, Question IV.

37. *E. M. S. Catalog,* 1918-19.

38. J. Irvin Lehman, "Special Bible Term at Hayfield," *Eastern Mennonite School Journal,* March, 1934.

39. *Gospel Herald,* VII (December 3, 1914) p. 577.

a later announcement reported "an enrollment of 48 students besides the occasional visitors who come."[40]

This short Bible term had a good effect, according to M. J. Brunk. "The Bible study and Christian fellowship created additional interest in school work, especially in a Bible school. About this time Assembly Park near Harrisonburg, Virginia, . . . was offered for sale." This twenty-three acre timbered park included a hotel building, a number of cottages, and a large tabernacle. Instead of purchasing immediately, these buildings and grounds were rented for the holding of two six weeks' winter Bible terms, in 1916 and in 1917. During the second of these terms the property was purchased, and in the fall of the same year, 1917, a "full nine-months' course of academy work, Bible, and music was offered." Furthermore, "the Special Bible Term of six weeks continued to be offered."

Organization. Little could be learned concerning the organization for the first short Bible term in 1915, except as noted above. The organization was no doubt temporary since it was not expected to continue as a short-term school. For the second term, it was announced that it would be held "with the consent and authority of the Board of Trustees for the proposed eastern school," and later on it was reported that great difficulty was experienced "in securing a full corps of experienced teachers."[41] After the full-term academy had been established, a plan was followed similar to those followed at Goshen and Hesston. One or two special instructors were secured to teach during the Special Bible Term, and members of the regular faculty assisted.

The present organization of the Special Bible Term has been described by the president of the school. Teachers and officials of the Special Bible Term are selected in the following manner: the President and Dean recommend certain individuals, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees approves [or disapproves], the Faculty Committee gives the prospects a doctrinal examination, and if passed satisfactorily, they are elected by the aforesaid Executive Committee. The Finance Committee with the Business Manager of the Eastern Mennonite School have the responsibility for deciding on the financial arrangements. The teachers are paid a fixed salary and are given board and room. In recent years there has been a

40. *Ibid.,* VII, 705.
41. *Gospel Herald,* VIII, 655, 814.

Special Bible Term Director, whose duties the writer did not discover. The writer's personal observation during visits to the school led him to conclude that this Director acts somewhat as a class sponsor of the Special Bible Term group, and also is responsible for solicitation of students for the Special Bible Term.

Curricular development. The courses for the first year, as noted above, dealt with the Bible, Christian Work, and Music. During the years from 1916 to 1921 there was much variety and experimentation in the matter of curricular offerings during the short Bible term. A permanent administration and faculty were just in the process of formation. There were usually courses in Bible, Doctrine, Christian Work, and Music, but they varied from year to year until about 1922.

Records of the curricular offerings from 1922 to the present (except for 1926) were found in the annual Special Bible Term bulletins on file in the Eastern Mennonite School library. It was from these that the following account was derived. A steady development in the curriculum of the Special Bible Term can be seen. This development divides into three six-year periods of development, as will be explained below.

During the first of these six-year periods, from 1922 to 1927, there was no definite system of rotation of courses. Courses were offered annually in the fields of Old Testament Book Study, New Testament Book Study, and Bible Doctrine, but the portions chosen varied from year to year without any definite system. Courses in Bible Geography, Methods of Bible Study, Personal Work, and Rudiments of Music were usually offered, and there were a few scattered courses in Church History, Missions, and the current year's Sunday School Lessons.

In the next six-year period, from 1928 to 1933, the same general plan was followed, except that now the Old Testament Books were taken up in chronological order, and so were systematically covered during the six-year period. Also Teacher Training, Hymn Study, and Chorister Training were introduced as annual features, and the Bible Doctrine course was given in two portions, alternating with each other annually.

In 1934 a definite six-year cycle of courses was outlined, which was followed in the main during the six-year period from 1934 to 1939. This cycle covered all the books of the Bible, all the Bible Doctrines,

and Bible Geography. The Bible books required six years to complete, the Bible Doctrine could be completed twice in these years, and Bible Geography three times. Annual offerings included Personal Evangelism, Rudiments of Music, Hymn Study, Chorister Training, and the six units of the Mennonite Elementary Teacher Training course. A plan for offering Church History in a three-year cycle was given up after four years. Various mission courses were offered, but not according to any definite plan.

In 1934 the Eastern Mennonite School also began offering advanced courses during its Special Bible Term. These courses were of college grade, and were intended for ministers, Christian workers, high school graduates, and others who could do advanced work. In 1937 it was announced that they would yield one semester hour of college credit for each course taken for one hour a day three days a week for the six-week term. Courses in the college Bible department were open to such students with the same promise of credit for work done. A special two-week course for ministers was attempted in 1937 and 1938, but discontinued.

In 1940 the six-year cycle having been completed, a new cycle of courses was introduced. This was so arranged that courses in Bible Doctrine, Church History, Bible Geography, and Missions would be covered in three years, while the book-study courses covering almost the entire Bible were to be distributed over six years. This was very similar to the previous six-year plan. The same annual courses continued as regular offerings. The chief difference was that a special effort was made to grade the courses. Half of them were classified as Grade I, for younger students with little or no experience in Sunday school or summer Bible school teaching, and the rest of them were classified as Grade II, for those students with more or less experience. The advanced course was continued for those with still greater maturity and experience, as noted above.

Another important innovation, in connection with this "Revised Three-and-Six-Year Cycle," was the promise of a certificate of graduation to those students who would complete any three terms, including at least two of the courses each in Bible Doctrine, Church History, together with Personal Evangelism, Music, and the Elementary Teacher-training Course. Evidently the Grade I and Grade II classification would not be rigidly adhered to for this, since some

of these required courses fall under Grade I and the others under Grade II.

Extra-curricular Development. Here, too, a steady development can be traced. The only extra-curricular scheduled feature of the first term in 1915 was a series of three lectures on "God's Glory in the Heavens." Some lectures or addresses, chiefly on religious subjects, have been given annually throughout the history of the Eastern Mennonite School Special Bible Term, as far as can be discovered. In 1922, a total of forty lectures, on "timely topics," was scheduled for the six-week term! Usually there have not been more than half a dozen. This school early made definite provision for the social life of its short-term students. Since as early as 1917 each Special Bible Term has been begun with a "get-acquainted social" to help the "short-termers" to become acquainted with the "regular-termers" and the faculty. In 1923 the school sponsored a mountain climb during the special Bible term. Similar outdoor expeditions and scenic trips have since been an annual feature. An annual lecture for students of each sex separately, giving sex guidance and information from a Christian viewpoint, was given as early as 1919. In more recent years, special Bible term students have held a farewell social among themselves and with their special Bible term instructors.

Religious extra-curricular features have held an especially prominent place during the special Bible term. In 1925 and in 1926, a "Mission Day" and since 1929 a "Mission Meeting" has been held over some week-end during the special Bible term. As the name suggests, these meetings feature addresses on mission themes. Revival meetings have been held during the special Bible term since 1925, a "Ministers' Week" since 1928, and a "Christian Life Conference" since 1929. From 1933 to 1937, a "Sunday School Workers' Meeting" was held, which was later crowded out by other activities. The local (Virginia) Mennonite Conference district now has its own annual Christian Workers' Conference. Besides these special religious programs the Young People's Christian Association of the school has regularly invited special Bible term students to become members of the organization and to share in its activities which include Young People's Bible Meetings and Mission Prayer Meetings at the school, and practical Christian work in the county jail and almshouse.

Provision has also been made for special Bible term students to join and take part in literary societies. Before 1923 these students were assigned to the high school literary societies at Eastern Mennonite School. From 1924 on they were allowed to choose their society. But regular literary societies did not meet often during the special Bible term. In 1933 the special Bible term students formed their own society under faculty direction. In 1936 a second society was organized. Besides the privilege of membership and participation in one or the other of these literary societies, the special Bible term students also have the honor of presenting a public literary program during the term.

This Special Bible Term has enjoyed a rather steady patronage. The attendance declined somewhat when the regular nine-month term was first introduced, and again during the depression years, 1931 and 1932, but it has at times passed the hundred mark—in 1928, 1935, 1937, and 1938. Since 1938, the attendance has declined by about 20 per cent, due no doubt to the opening of other short term schools in Pennsylvania, the state from which the Eastern Mennonite School draws a large portion of its students. But this Special Bible Term is by no means becoming a local school,—only 16 per cent of the current year's enrollment came from the local conference district, while about 50 per cent came from Pennsylvania.[42]

VI

THE JOHNSTOWN BIBLE SCHOOL

The Johnstown Bible School, begun in 1922, had an unusually rapid and steady development. It was the first permanent school in Pennsylvania. Some of its features have since been found effective in other winter Bible schools. In other respects, too, the school has had a distinctive character.[43]

Origin. For several years previous to 1921, a few of the young

42. The material in this section not otherwise credited was drawn from the annual Special Bible Term bulletins of the Eastern Mennonite School, and the writer's personal investigation of office records of the Special Bible Term, together with the announcements of the school in the *Gospel Herald.*

43. The writer was able to obtain much information on this school. A visit was made to the school while in session, the principal and the business manager were interviewed, and records consulted. Several histories of the school have been written (none recently), and these were consulted. Information was also received from the principal in 1938 in reply to a questionnaire. From these sources the following account has been compiled, treating the origin, organization, and development of the school.

people of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Conference district attended the short Bible terms at the Mennonite church schools. Others were unable to do so because of finances and distance. In August, 1921, S. G. Shetler made an appeal to the Southwestern Pennsylvania Mennonite Conference to open a Bible school in the conference district. The conference acted favorably and a Bible School Committee was appointed. The purpose of the school was to provide Bible knowledge and training for Christian service.

Organization. A temporary organization was provided for in the resolution of the Conference here reproduced:

> Resolved, that we favor such a Bible School [a six-week Bible School in the Conference district], provided that upon investigation, it will be considered practical and be it further resolved that Brethren S. G. Shetler, Daniel Kauffman, and E. J. Blough be appointed to arrange a plan, including time, place, and course of study, and upon completion of their plans submit the same to our Executive Committee for their approval; if approved by the Executive Committee the above named brethren are empowered to provide for the holding of the proposed Bible School; also that Brethren E. J. Blough, S. K. Eash, E. J. Varnes, John A. Thomas, L. H. Weaver, Calvin Layman, together with the moderator of this Conference, constitute an advisory board to pass upon such measures as may be brought before them.[44]

Arrangements were made to hold the first term in the Stahl Mennonite Church, about six miles from Johnstown, beginning January 2, 1922, and continuing for six weeks. The project proved successful, and a six-week term has been held annually since 1922 at the same location and about the same time of the year.

In 1924 the Bible School Committee was authorized to draw up a constitution for the Bible School Board which should henceforth have charge of the school. The constitution proposed was adopted by the Conference, August 15, 1924.

As provided by this constitution, the Bible School Board should consist of three members from the Stahl congregation (or wherever the school was held), three members from the local district ministerial body, three members appointed by the Conference, and the principal of the school. The faculty was to be selected by the Board. The course of study was to be arranged by the faculty and approved by the Board. The Executive Committee of the Board had charge

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44. Conference Minutes, 1921, *History of the Southwestern Pennsylvania Conference*, p. 190.

of financial arrangements and appointed a Business Manager to look after this work.

After a struggle with finances during the first years, a plan was adopted whereby all running expenses of the school were first paid out of the school income, and the balance was divided among the instructors in proportion to the amount of work done. Deficits were thereby avoided.

Development. The principalship for the first three years was held in turn by N. E. Miller, J. F. Bressler, and J. A. Ressler. From 1925 to 1935 inclusive, and from 1940 on, S. G. Shetler served as princicpal. In 1936 A. J. Metzler served as principal. From 1937 to 1939 E. C. Bender served in this capacity. Shetler's untiring efforts brought about much of the development of this school.

Unfortunately, data on the courses offered during the first eight years of the school's history were not available. The curriculum was at first somewhat limited, but was enlarged as the school grew. A four-year course was evidently introduced early in the school's history, for in 1925 there were seven graduates from a four-year course.

By 1927 a six-year course of study was drawn up by the faculty and approved by the Board. Part of the subject matter of the course was arranged in cycles. The Epistles required six years for completion; the Pentateuch, the Minor Prophets, and the Historical Books each took five years; the Poetical Books and the Major Prophets, four years each; Church History, three years; and Biblical Psychology, two years. The following were offered annually: Bible Doctrine, Bible Geography, Christian Principles, Character Study, Homiletics, Missions, Sunday School Methods, Young People's Meeting Methods, Summer Bible School Course, English, German, and Music.[45] Some changes and additions have been made to this curriculum, but the general plan is still (1941) being followed.

Several extra-curricular features were early introduced. Weekly evening programs at the church in which the school was held were an annual feature from the beginning. They are now held on every

45. S. G. Shetler, "Johnstown Bible School," *Youth's Christian Companion,* XII, November 29, 1931, p. 795.

The attendance at Johnstown, including only day enrollment has averaged 59 annually from the beginning. The high point was reached in 1928 with 86 enrolled. Recently the average has been about 48. The territory served is largely southwestern Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio.

Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday evening, (unless conflicting with some other feature) and student participation is stressed. In 1924 an all-day Christian Workers' Conference was introduced as an annual feature. Within a few years, other winter Bible schools also introduced similar features.

Beginning with 1926 a Ministers' and Missionaries' Week was held annually during the school term. In 1928 an appeal was made by Sunday-school workers to have an entire week devoted to Sunday-school work. This request was granted by the Board and it was arranged to have a Sunday School Workers' Conference immediately after the conclusion of the regular six-week term. This was held with an attendance of 107 and became a permanent feature. This is the only winter Bible school with this as an annual feature.

By 1931 special social talks to men and women separately were an annual feature. About 1936, social gatherings of students became a regular feature. Still more recently, a school literary society was organized.[46]

VII

WINTER BIBLE SCHOOLS HELD IN MISSION STATIONS

At least three winter Bible schools have been held at Mennonite city mission stations, namely: at Canton, Ohio, in 1913 and several following years; at Altoona, Pennsylvania, in 1914; and at Lima, Ohio, in 1926-27 and 1928. Mention was made earlier of a one-week session of the Goshen College Short Bible Term held at the Chicago Mennonite Mission during the Christmas vacation in 1914 and 1915, but since this was not an independently organized mission Bible school, it will not be treated in this chapter.

These schools had a distinctive character, and so deserve treatment in this study. Some information on these mission winter Bible schools is contained in the files of the *Gospel Herald.* The leaders of the schools furnished information in reply to questionnaires, in letters, and in personal interviews. The result of the study will be divided into three sections: the Canton Bible School, the Bible School at Altoona, and Lima Mission Short Bible Term.

The Canton Bible School. This school began as a local effort at

46. S. G. Shetler, in questionnaire, 1938; interview, February 1, 1941; "Johnstown Bible School," *Bulletin of the Mennonite Board of Education,* Fourth Quarter, 1931, pp. 1, 4; "Johnstown Bible School," *Youth's Christian Companion,* XII, pp. 795, 827.

the Canton Mennonite Mission. In 1912 P. R. Lantz, the mission superintendent, and I. W. Royer, minister of the near-by congregation at Orrville, initiated plans for the school.[47] An executive committee of five was organized and in September issued an announcement of a "Special Bible School" to be held from December 31, 1912, to February 7, 1913, at the Mennonite Church in Canton, Ohio. Soon after, Lantz was succeeded by G. M. Hostetler as superintendent of the Mission, but remained as a worker for a short time.

In December, 1912, a detailed class schedule appeared in the *Gospel Herald* listing Royer, Lantz, and Hostetler as teachers, with J. S. Hartzler of Goshen College assisting. The school was held as announced, except that J. S. Hartzler was unable to serve for the entire term. About twenty-five students were in attendance.

The purpose for which the school was established was to "inspire and prepare for more active and effective Christian service." This emphasis was consistent for a school held at a mission station, and was effected through an active practical work program. Gospel meetings were held by students or with student assistance in shops and rescue missions. This program of practical Christian work has been further developed, so that it is now an outstanding feature of the school, including participation in jail services, county home services, and distribution of Christian literature.

Another special feature of the Canton Bible School was Ministers' Meeting, held February 6 and 7, 1913. This included both addresses and open discussions of matters of vital interest to ministers. This was attended by seventeen bishops, ministers, and deacons and also a number of laymen. This was the forerunner of more extended ministers' meetings now current in the winter Bible schools. A Christian Workers' Conference, February 3 to 7, and a series of about fifteen lectures on doctrinal subjects were other special features of the first session.

This school was not held annually. Record was discovered of sessions held in the following years: 1913, 1915, 1918-1922, 1925, 1938 (fall), 1940, and 1941.[48]

The course of study for the first term, 1912-13, included the following subjects: Doctrines (lectures), Gospels (Mark), Acts, Epistles, Personal Work, Sunday School Normal, Sunday School Les-

47. I. W. Royer, in questionnaire, 1938.
48. J. J. Hostetler, in letter to writer, March 14, 1942.

sons, Missions, Music, Prayer, and Holy Spirit. There were few basic changes in this curriculum in following years. Old Testament courses were added, the devotional courses and the course in Acts were offered irregularly, courses in Prophecy were offered from time to time, and the course in Sunday School Lessons was finally dropped. Church History was occasionally offered, and since 1938 the Elementary Teacher Training courses have been included.

By 1918 a "Morning Watch" had been introduced, and soon became a distinctive feature of the school. This consists of Scriptures, song, prayer and meditation for the deepening of the spiritual life and for the encouraging of regular family and private devotion. It is conducted in an informal manner giving everyone opportunity to participate.

No sessions of the school were held from 1926 to 1937. In 1938, the school was revived and a three-week term held. Re-organization took place in 1939, and a Bible School Board was organized, composed of representatives from each of the nineteen congregations in northeastern Ohio. A three-year curriculum, of six weeks each year, was introduced in 1940. The school seemed now to be on a permanent basis. However in 1941-42 the Canton school was merged with the Goshen College Winter Bible School. Future plans for Canton are as yet unannounced. Attendance varied from 25 to 45, drawn chiefly from eastern Ohio.

The Bible School at Altoona, Pennsylvania. This school was known as the "Mennonite Gospel Mission Bible School." It was established by the local board of the Altoona Mission. The Mission personnel, consisting of J. L. Stauffer, superintendent, and C. F. Derstine, assistant, had the responsibility of selecting teachers and courses, and assuming general control of the school. The school was established to strengthen the work locally, and resulted in an average daily attendance of eighteen, mostly local students. The school was held only one year, November 25 to December 23, 1914. Courses were as follows: Teacher Training, Bible Doctrines and Teachings, Daniel, Personal Work, and Music. Four outside teachers were secured to assist Stauffer and Derstine in the instructional work. Meals were served at the Mission Home, and lodging was provided in homes in the city.

Lima Mission Short Bible Term. The Lima (Ohio) Mennonite Mission held its first short Bible term for a period of four weeks,

beginning December 6, 1926. Thirty students enrolled, and the following winter a six-week term was held, beginning January 30, 1928. The instructors were J. B. Smith, J. D. Mininger, A. I. Yoder, and Maurice O'Connell. Revival meetings were held by J. D. Mininger during the second term, and there was a marked increase in attendance and interest, but inasmuch as J. B. Smith, the principal, was called to teach at Hesston College and Bible School the next few years, the school was discontinued.[49]

49. J. B. Smith, in correspondence to writer, May 12, 1941, who also quoted from J. S. Umble: *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools,* 1941.

(To be continued)

THE SCHLEITHEIM CONFESSION (1527) AND OTHER DOCTRINAL WRITINGS OF THE SWISS BRETHREN IN A HITHERTO UNKNOWN EDITION

By Robert Friedmann

The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College recently acquired from a Mennonite family a small, much worn, old book, the contents of which are of such great interest that a detailed study of it is herewith presented. It offers exceptional insight into the religious thinking of early Swiss Anabaptism in its doctrinal and devotional expression, and thus represents a considerable enrichment of our knowledge of the Mennonite heritage.

A brief description of the book may serve as a helpful introduction. The small size of our copy ($2\frac{3}{4}''$x$3\frac{1}{2}''$) characterizes it as a typical pocket manual, a companion for every day use. It has 520 pages containing two distinctly different parts: a first part entitled, *Concordantz vnd Zeiger der namhafftigsten Sprüch aller Biblischen Bücher alts vnd news Testaments/auffs kürzest verfasset vnd zusamengebracht. Sampt einem ordentlichen register/am end dis Büchlins,* (n. p.,n.d.) 368 pages with pagination; and a second part with the title, *Brüderliche vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes/sieben artickel betreffend. Item/ein sendbrieff Michael Sattlers/an ein Gemein Gottes/ sampt kurtzem/ doch wahrhafftigem anzeig/wie er seine leer zu Rottenburg am Necker/mit seinem blut bezeuget hat. . . ,* 152 pages without pagination. This second part, however, includes much more than the lengthy title indicates. In addition to the writings of Michael Sattler and the memorable story of his martyrdom in 1527, it contains five anonymous, and most interesting early doctrinal tracts, and one short epistle by Melchior Rinck, together with an added tract against infant baptism by this well-known leader of the Thuringian Anabaptists. No book of this type has hitherto been known in Anabaptist literature. The fact that it contains the *Brüderliche Vereinigung* of 1527 makes the book particularly inter-

esting, since this tract is the oldest confession of faith of all Anabaptism, and this particular edition was hitherto unknown.

We know nothing about the provenance and age of the present book. The handwritten ownersign on the inside of the first cover, "Lisi Joder, 1751," is rather late. The type as such points to the sixteenth century, or at the latest the early seventeenth century. The spelling (e.g.*Büchlin*) proves its provenance from Switzerland or more likely from a near-by place in South Germany.

Part II. The Seven Articles of Schleitheim and the Tracts

Since the second part is by far the more important one, we shall start our detailed discussion with its contents. It presents a series of dogmatic writings which are undoubtedly the product of the early days of the Anabaptist movement, a field of which comparatively little is known. The contents of this part are as follows: (1) *Brüderliche Vereinigung etlicher Kinder Gottes . . .*, (2) the epistle of Michael Sattler, *An die Gemein Gottes zu Horb . . .*, (3) *Volgen die Artickel und Handlung/ so Michael Sattler zu Rottenburg am Necker/ mit seinem Blut bezeuget hat . . .*, (4) *Von der Genugtuung Christi*, (5) *Von der Ehescheidung*, (6) *Von zweyerley Gehorsam*, (7) *Von Hörung der falschen Propheten oder Widerchristen*, (8) (*Von bösen Vorstehern*).[1] This tract is separated from the preceding one only by a blank line. (9) (An epistle by Melchior Rinck—one page—with an appended short tract on *Baptism*.[2] Of these writings only 1, 2, 3, and 5 have been known from a print of 1533.[3] A sixteenth century Dutch version of all these tracts has been almost completely overlooked in spite of a scholarly edition in the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* in 1909.[4] This Dutch version, extant in one copy of 1560 and in another of 1565 in Amsterdam (Library of the United Mennonite Church), gives us at once a most welcome key to the understanding of our book. Since the Dutch edition has also the *Concordantz*, it is

1. This heading is missing and was added by the present writer according to later findings.

2. This part has no caption, but the writer of the epistle introduces himself clearly.

3. It was reprinted and edited by Walter Köhler in 1909 under the title, *Brüderliche Vereinigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes . . .* in the *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation*, 2. Band, 3. Heft, Leipzig, 1908.

4. Pp. 585-650. It was edited by the late Samuel Cramer.

quite obvious that our present book is nothing but the German original of the Dutch edition, or, to be more cautious, presumably a later reprint of this German original of the Amsterdam edition. Nothing has been known about the existence of such an original which differs so much from the way Anabaptists used to propagate their tracts. Here, an unknown compiler added a number of smaller but basic dogmatic writings to a pocket Bible concordance of a totally unknown origin, in order to present to the early Anabaptists a handy manual for every day use. To be sure, the Hutterian Brethren had many collections of this kind, including concordances, in manuscript form. However, the earliest known of these Hutterian manuscripts dates from 1571 and accordingly is later than our present book.

Dogmatic publications of Anabaptists in the sixteenth century were exceedingly rare for the obvious reason of persecution and oppression which made printing hazardous or impossible. Hence, our knowledge will ever remain fragmentary and dependent on incidental findings in archives and libraries such as this one, or on secondary sources. Following is an approximately complete list of authors of such Anabaptist literature: Conrad Grebel,[5] Michael Sattler,[6] Pilgram Marpeck,[7] and two Hutterites, Peter Riedemann[8] and Peter Walpot.[9] Thomas von Imbroich, though a Rhinelander, might rightly also be counted among the Swiss Brethren.[10] On the other hand, men like Hans Denck or Balthasar Hubmaier never spoke in the name of an Anabaptist group and therefore can not be counted in this summary. It is a rather scanty product of a move-

5. Cf. Harold S. Bender, "The Theology of Conrad Grebel," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XII, January and April, 1938.

6. Cf. John Horsch, "Michael Sattler and the first Mennonite confession of faith," *Gospel Herald,* Jan. 20, 1938, pp. 916-918, and W. Wiswedel, "Michael Sattler, ein Opfer seltener Glaubenstreue," *Der Wahrheitszeuge* (Kassel, Germany), LXIX, 1937, 13-18.

7. Cf. John C. Wenger, "The Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *M.Q.R.* XII, Oct. 1938.

8. Cf. John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren,* 1528-1931, *A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty.* Goshen, Ind., 1931. Chapter VII deals with "The Faith and Principles of the Hutterian Brethren."

9. Cf. Robert Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der Hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXVIII and XXIX, 1931-1932.

10. Cf. Felix Reichmann, "An Early Edition of Thomas von Imbroich," *M.Q.R.* XVI, April, 1942. A theological interpretation of the confession is still needed. See Karl Rembert, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich,* (Berlin, 1899) p. 459 ff. All American editions of the *Ausbund* have as appendix Thomas' confession of faith.

ment of such power and aggressiveness, and for this reason our new source is most noteworthy.

We turn first to the writings by Michael Sattler. A thorough discussion of his spiritual work, which was of extraordinary depth and influence, is impossible here, although it is greatly needed in view of the fact that it has received much attention but no adequate interpretation. Sattler was one of the finest leaders of the new movement, a true saint, to whom even official Protestant Reformers paid high homage. Butzer in Strasbourg called him "einen lieben Freund Gottes" and "einen Vornehmen des Taufordens," and Capito of the same city devoted to him a long and loving obituary.[11] He was the moving genius at the noted conference, held at Schleitheim near Schaffhausen, Switzerland, February 24, 1527, where the *Seven Articles* were drawn up, most likely with Sattler as chief editor. The introduction to this document makes its motives fairly clear: it is the concern for the conscience of those who have been misled by false brethren.[12] In order to protect such and to give them a guide, the main points at issue were defined and correctly solved according to the Word of God as the only authority. "These are the articles," says the postscript, "which some brethren have erroneously understood hitherto, and by that have confused many weak souls . . ." Fritz Blanke (Zurich) in a fine study[13] makes it clear that these articles show all the characteristics of a genuine confession of faith with its intention to erect a dam against the intrusion of heretical views into the brotherhood. It achieves this purpose by selecting only the points of disagreement and neglecting to set forth a complete system of thought. All confessions of the early church (like the *Regula Fidei*) were of this kind, emerging in the actual struggle against false teachers and thus shaping unintentionally step by step the theology of the group.

The *Seven Articles* or *Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God,* obviously succeeded in its purpose. It found an astonishingly wide circulation, thus proving its general acceptance among

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11. See articles on Butzer and Capito in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* I, 309 and 329-331, with ample bibliography.

12. *Trost vnd versicherung euwers gewissens, welchs etwan verwirret was . . . Es ist von etlichen falschen brüdern vnder vns vast grosze ergernusz ingefürt worden . . .*

13. Fritz Blanke, "Beobachtungen zum ältesten Täuferbekenntnis," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXXVIII, 1940, p. 240-249.

the rank and file of Anabaptism. A list of all known manuscripts and prints of these articles presents an imposing picture of the influence of our book.

A. Manuscripts.

Four Hutterian manuscripts: (1) No. 305 kt of the Archiv der Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde zu Pressburg (Slovakia), used by Lydia Müller in *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938). (2) No. 190, formerly in Pressburg, Slovakia, now in private possession. This codex was used by Josef Beck in his reprint of the articles in *Geschicht Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn,* (Wien, 1883), p. 41. (3) No. 221, again formerly Pressburg, now private. It has all three pieces by Sattler like No. 190. (4) No. 163 of 1581, same place, has only Sattler's epistle to the church in Horb.

One ms. in the Staatsarchiv at Berne, Switzerland (sgn. K. A. No. 8). It was used by Ernst Müller, *Die Bernischen Täufer* (Frauenfeld, 1895), p. 38 ff., and by Fritz Blanke in his edition of Zwingli's *In catabaptistarum strophas elenchus* (*Corp. Reform,* Vol. VI, p. 104).

One ms. in the University Library of Heidelberg, Germany, (HSS 793 fol.). It was used by Rudolf Wolkan for his edition of the *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Wien, 1923); see note 1 on p. 40.

B. Prints.

The oldest print is without date. W. Köhler gives a description and a reproduction of its title page in his edition of it in *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation,* Vol. II, Heft 3 (Leipzig, 1908) on pp. 299 and 300. At the end one finds the year 1533. It contains also the article on "Divorce." Two copies are known of this edition, one at the State Library in Berlin, the other in private possession. A second print, similar to the first one, yet without the writing on Divorce, is found in two copies at the State Library in Munich, Germany.

W. Köhler mentions one more imprint of the *Acta,* that is, the third part of the Sattler material, telling his brave stand in the days of the test, possibly written by the eyewitness Claus von Graveneck, and found in a book in the library at Wolffenbüttel, Germany. According to Wolkan, *Geschichtbuch,* p. 40, another copy is in Berlin.

No later prints (as a separate book) were known to Köhler. However, there exists a reprint of two of the three Sattler pieces in the Mennonite devotional book *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen,* in three editions in 1702 and 1742, American reprint 1745. It is obvious that the unknown compiler used a copy similar to the one found in the Goshen College collection which will be described later. (Copies of all editions of the *Güldene Aepffel* are in the Goshen College Library.)

The book was also well known to non-Mennonites. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptistici,* (Basel, 1672) p. 44, mentioned it, as did Johann Conrad Füsslin in his *Beyträge zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-geschichten des Schweitzerlandes,* (Zurich, 1742) Vol. II, p. 374.

Also important are the translations of the *Brüderliche Vereinigung* in other languages. Three or four of them are known:

First of all there is the rendering into Latin by Ulrich Zwingli in his *Elenchus,* 1527 (see above), newly edited by Fritz Blanke in the critical Zwingli edition, Vol. VI, 1936. Blanke suspects that Zwingli had used a copy such as that in the Berne Archive. By his translation Zwingli did much toward an unintentional propagation of Anabaptist ideas. From this Latin version an English translation was printed in 1911 in W. J. McGlothlin's *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Philadelphia), p. 3-9.

A French translation existed in the sixteenth century, but is lost. John Calvin used it for his attack against the Anabaptists in his *Brieve instruction pour armer tous bons fideles contre les erreurs de la secte commune des Anabaptists,* 1544, reprinted in *Corpus Reformatorum,* Vol. VII, p. 45-142.

Finally there is the Dutch translation in the two editions of 1560 and 1565 mentioned above, reprinted in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* V, 1909, p. 603-650. The first Dutch martyrs book *Het Offer des Heeren,* 1562, and all later editions contain the *Acta* and a hymn to Sattler's memory (reprint in the *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.,* Vol. II, 1904, p. 62-69). When, in 1615, *Het Offer des Heeren* was succeeded by the *Groote Offerboek,* the story was included. Yet all these editions were surpassed by Tielem van Braght's *Martelaers Spiegel,* Amsterdam, 1660, in which both the *Acta* and the *Epistles* to the church in Horb were presented in translation (Vol. II, p. 82-87). Strangely enough the *Seven Articles* are missing, just as they are missing in the *Güldene Aepffel.*

Modern reprints have already been mentioned. Here only the names of the editors may be listed: 1883, Josef Beck; 1895, Ernst Müller; 1908, Walter Köhler; 1910, Heinrich Böhmer (*Lietzmann's Kleine Texte,* No. 50/51, 2d ed. 1933); 1912, John Horsch in *Mennonitische Rundschau* (January 24), translated later by him into English, *Gospel Herald,* January 20, 1938; Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (*Acta* only, p. 37-40).

In addition to the newly discovered edition in our "Sammelband" as reported above, Goshen College Library is fortunate to possess another hitherto unknown early edition which has recently come to light. It is found in a collection of anonymous tracts, together with the *Epistles* to the church in Horb and the stirring *Acta.* This edition includes a farewell hymn of Sattler, "Muss es nun sein geschieden," which is also found in the *Ausbund,* as hymn 136.[14] This edition, a small tract of thirty-six pages, was apparently printed in the seventeenth century. It is very likely that such a booklet had

14. Cf. F. Spitta, "Michael Sattler als Dichter," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XXXV. It is interesting to note that Rudolf Wolkan did not know that this hymn was by Sattler (*Lieder de Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903, p. 120). Also his annotations in the *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder,* Wien, 1923, p. 40, do not mention Sattler's poetry.

served as model for the Sattler section in the *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen* of 1702, the last Mennonite imprint of our work.

Besides the writings by Michael Sattler our first mentioned book contains also a series of most fascinating writings which as a whole mean a real contribution to our knowledge of the teachings of early Anabaptism. The following description can hardly give more than an inkling of the spiritual beauty of these tracts and their power of conviction.

The first tract, *Von der Genugtuung Christi* (Of the Atonement through Christ), must be considered one of the finest Anabaptist tracts ever written. It is typical for the theology of the Brethren with its arguments both against the Lutheran position of salvation by faith alone and the Catholic position of salvation by works. The tract represents an exposition of the third chapter of Romans by an abundance of texts following the familiar basic Anabaptist pattern of "evidencing faith by life," as John Horsch has so fittingly put it. It was not "works" in an ecclesiastical sense which the Swiss Brethren were teaching, but living in the spirit of the Gospel, and by that exposing themselves inevitably to suffering and martyrdom. This is the keynote in all writings of the Brethren, and in this one particularly. Therefore, the polemics in this as in all other tracts is never merely negative; on the contrary, the writers try to surpass their adversaries in other churches by pointing positively to the highest standards of the Gospel itself. One can imagine how tracts like this one were effective among the many who were hungry and thirsty for a new message.[15]

The second tract, *Von der Ehescheidung*, deals with the question of divorce. It espouses the strict Biblical standpoint (Mt. 5:32) that only adultery justifies divorce, while unbelief and hardness of heart should never sever man and wife. This was common-sense teaching among Swiss Anabaptists. For one reason or another, the Schleitheim articles of 1527 omitted a statement on this problem, urgent as it was in the beginning of the movement when dissension between man and wife must have been quite frequent. Subsequently, in the 1533 edition of the *Articles*, a statement on divorce was added from an unknown source, gaining by this method of publication a

15. S. Cramer in *Bibl. Ref. Neerlandica*, V, 1909, p. 596, surmised that the tract is of Dutch origin. Our present book however proves clearly that it roots in early Anabaptism of Southwest Germany.

certain authority. Walter Köhler reproduced this part also in his reprint of the *Articles;* his text and ours are almost identical except for the spelling and a list of texts in the caption. Since Köhler's copy is signed "Br.M.L.", he surmised that the brethren had made here an epitome of (Brother) Martin Luther's *Sermon vom ehelichen Leben* (1522). This is rejected with good reason by S. Cramer in the preface of his Dutch edition, while he on his part inclined to think of a printing error for "Br.M.S." (Bruder Michael Sattler). In our book the tract is not signed yet it seems to us beyond doubt that it emerged from Swiss Anabaptism, having nothing in common with Lutheran teachings. Its genius is that of a certain toleration in matters of matrimony, an attitude also advocated for instance by the Swiss representatives at the noted disputation at Frankenthal 1571.[16] The Hutterian communities in Moravia on the other hand practiced a different principle, namely divorce also in case of divergence in faith, referring to the word of the apostle Paul in I Cor. 7:15 as authority.[17] Somewhat similar was the practice of shunning among the Dutch congregations which followed the teaching of Dirck Philips in his *Van die Echt der Christenen,* 1569.[28]

The third tract in our series is entitled *Von Zweierlei Gehorsam* (Of Twofold Obedience), and might truly be called a pearl of Anabaptist writing. It is the most fascinating and profound treatise of our book, and no doubt goes back to the earliest time of the Anabaptist movement, presumably to about 1530. It reminds one vividly of writings by Hans Denck or Hans Hut, and has the Gospel genius of the Brethren at its best. There are two different kinds of obedience among men, an unfree one as among servants (*knechtischer Gehorsam*) and a free one as among children (*kindlicher Gehorsam*). The one obedience emerges out of the love of reward, and works only that which is ordered, that is, according to law; the other obedience emerges out of the love of the father, and works

16. Cf. Ernst Correll's article "Ehe" in *Menn. Lex.,* I, especially p. 517; also Hege's "Frankenthaler Gespräch," *ibid,* I. 676 and "Disputationen," *ibid.,* I. 454.

17. Cf. Robert Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift, etc.," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* XXVIII, p. 212, where Peter Walpot's "Five articles" of 1545 are discussed. "Christian matrimony as instituted and commanded by God and as it must be maintained and practiced according to the Scripture by believers," English translation in: Dietrich Philip, *Enchiridion or Handbook* . . . translated by A. B. Kolb. Elkhart, Ind., 1910, p. 487 ff. See also the article by Chr. Neff, "Mischehe," in *Menn. Lex.* III. 139.

6 Erratum: Footnote No. 18 (instead of 28 above) reads as follows:

18. "Christian matrimony as instituted and commanded by God and as it must be maintained and practiced according to the Scriptures by believers." English translation in: Dietrich Philip, *Enchiridion or Handbook,* . . . translated by A. B. Kolb. Elkhart, Ind., 1910, p. 487 ff. See also the article by Chr. Neff, "Mischehe," in *Menn. Lex.,* III. 139.

apart from commands, following only the voice of love. With this enlightening antithesis one major religious concern is broached. Anabaptists ever taught obedience rather than reasoning,[19] and for that were reproached by contemporaries as well as by many a Protestant historian with Old Testament legalism (the legalism which Luther claimed to have overcome). But it is quite clear that this is a misrepresentation. Such attacks happened in the very beginning of the movement when people, jubilant about the new "Christian liberty," could not comprehend the strictness of this group of "sectarians." Here is the answer: "Our obedience is not an external or legal one but the result of our new relation to God, that is, it is freedom and strictness in one."

The fourth of our rather short dissertations, warns against false prophets in the sense of Mt. 7:16, and is entitled *Vom Hören falscher Propheten*. It, too, is a fine piece of work. In his introduction to the Dutch edition, S. Cramer raised the question as to what kind of "false prophets" were meant. Since he did not know the German source of his copy, he was led to the assumption that he had an original tract of Dutch Mennonitism, warning against the heresy of David Joris and his followers who were at that time an aggressive, half mystical, half fanatical group. It is true that the Davidites represented at a certain time a real temptation to the pure line of Anabaptist Biblicism. Yet, since we know that our book is of Swiss or South German origin, this interpretation does not fit, and thus we must look for another explanation of the "false prophets" of this tract. According to the text proper, most likely the "scribes" of the time were meant, namely the new theologians who misunderstood the Holy Scripture and confused "letter and spirit" (*Buchstabe und Geist*), just because they did not know and had never experienced the Holy Spirit. "Be on the alert!"—that is the tenor of this discourse as well as of the Schleitheim *Articles*. Do not betake yourself into temptation by lending an ear to their preaching! Here again we find aggressive polemics of the rather young and vigorous Anabaptist movement, although it represents a more positive than critical mood.

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19. Discussed by Robert Friedmann, in "Vernunft und Gehorsam, ein alter Täuferbrief und sein Sinn," *Mennonitische Blätter*, LXXVI, Mai 1929, p. 44-47, and *Arch. f. Ref. Gesch.*, XXVIII, 1931, p. 106 and 217.

The fifth and last of the anonymous tracts has no title in our print. The Dutch copy calls it *Van boose Voorstanders* (Of Evil Overseers). This tract is also polemical, yet not so much against the official churchmen of the Lutheran or Catholic Church as the preceding tract, but rather against the half mystics and "spiritual reformers"[20] who belittled the ordinances as something neutral and external. This was no doubt a major temptation and danger in the very beginning of the Anabaptist movement. Men like Caspar Schwenckfeld or Sebastian Franck, David Joris or Gabriel Ascherham, and toward the end of his life even Hans Denck, thought in this way on the burning issue of infant baptism, and thus escaped the dangerous road to martyrdom. Though Anabaptist brethren in general leaned to a certain extent toward such attitudes,[21] they nonetheless never succumbed to it, their strict Biblical foundation preventing them from doing so. And so they became suspicious even of otherwise respected men outside their own brotherhood. Our tract, for instance, says, "When they speak against the truth saying that infant baptism may be neutral and children may be baptized without detriment to the truth, it becomes quite obvious that they are allies of the Lutherans . . ."

An epistle of Melchior Rinck, the noted leader of the Anabaptists in Hesse and Thuringia (Central Germany), together with his hitherto unknown short tract against infant baptism, concludes our series of tracts. This is again a most welcome enlargement of our knowledge in this field. Melchior Rinck (1493-1545), surnamed "der Greck" (the Grecian) because of his humanistic education, has not yet found the attention in Mennonite history which he truly deserves.[22] Though his ministry to the Brethren was a very short one,

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20. This term is taken as a translation for the German term *"Spiritualisten."* It is used in the translation of Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches,* New York, 1931, and in the book by Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* London, 1914.

21. Cf. Rufus M. Jones' fine book *Studies in Mystical Religion,* London, 1909, 2nd ed. 1923, pp. 369-395.

22. The best brief treatment of Rinck's theology is to be found in Otto zur Linden, *Melchior Hoffmann, ein Prophet der Wiedertäufer,* Haarlem, 1885, p. 176-178. The chief source material, however, is found in the scholarly book by Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von* 1526-1584, Jena, 1913. Some material also in H. Hochhuth, "Landgraf Philipp . . .," *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie,* 1858 to 1860. The article "Hessen" in *Menn. Lex.* II. gives only too short references on Rinck. The same is true of Christian Hege's "Early Anabaptists in Hesse," *M.Q.R.*, V, 1931, pp. 157-178.

like that of most of the early leaders, his influence can be traced far into the late sixteenth century. He was one of the earliest and most original theologians among the South and Central German Anabaptists.[23] Originally influenced by Thomas Müntzer like many others (e.g. Hans Hut), he leaned toward a more mystical conception of Christianity. Resignation (*Gelassenheit*) is to him the very touchstone of a Christian and is achieved only by renouncing sin and all evil. Only those who follow Christ in doing and suffering reach the crown of salvation. He passionately opposes external rites exercised without active participation of the Holy Spirit. In spite of a certain kinship to the position of the "spiritual reformers," condemned in the preceding tract, he concludes in a quite different way: infant baptism is to him not something neutral but an abomination, just because of the absence of the Holy Spirit. It is obvious that such teachings found great acclaim, and Rinck's writings circulated widely among the brotherhood in his own country and even beyond it. As a man he was consistent and strong in his leadership, and therefore inevitably came to martyrdom. In 1529 he was arrested and brought to Haina, a former monastery in Thuringia. Here he wrote the epistle and tract against infant baptism found in our book. In 1531 he was released, but continuing his work in Hesse he was soon taken into custody again. There he remained until his death in 1545. Only two writings of his have been known hitherto;[24] now a third one is added, thus enlarging the picture of this outstanding leader.

With this we conclude our rather condensed survey of the contents of the second part of our book. Strangely enough, we learn nothing about the writers or the dates of publication. Thieleman van Braght supposed that all these tracts had Michael Sattler as author. He wrote in his *Martyrs' Mirror,* 1660, at the end of the chapter on Michael Sattler as follows, "Of this hero and witness of Jesus Christ there are also other writings extant in print, treating the atonement of Christ, brotherly union, divorce, evil overseers, and the hearing of false prophets."[25] This passage, as a matter of

23. Pilgram Marpeck's works date somewhat later.

24. Namely: the *"Zwölf Artikel,"* edited by Wappler in: *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen,* Appendix, source No. 30, pp. 294-302, and another tract, published by Wappler in his: *Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung,* Münster i. W., 1910, Appendix, I., No. 15.

25. *Martelaerspiegel,* Dordrecht, 1660, part II, p. 82-87. In the Ephrata translation *Der Blutige Schauplatz Oder Märtyrerspiegel . . . ,* Ephrata, 1748, part II, p. 4-10.

fact, proves nothing but that van Braght had used the Dutch edition of our book for the preparation of his own and that he was mistaken in his conclusion. In fact we do not know anything about the authors. Sattler's authorship is most improbable. Three months after the conference at Schleitheim he was executed for conscience' sake, and these three months were filled with the aggressive work of his itinerant ministry. S. Cramer thinks that the tracts are of different authors, different times and different points of view. (He assigns two of them to the Dutch Mennonites which, as we have seen, was a mistake.) He did not recognize the inner connection and unity of the pieces. He unfortunately misunderstood his subject. The genius of all these articles is quite clear and uniform, and proves that the Anabaptist movement, arising among various people of different countries, was yet but one and the same wherever the Bible was accepted in its absolute seriousness and sovereignty. Our book as a whole comes from the Swiss Brethren and derives without doubt from the earliest period of their history, that is about 1527 to 1535. It is the oldest pocket manual of this type so far known, the first compilation of tracts for the use of the Brethren. We do not know where it was printed; presumably not in Switzerland but somewhere in South Germany.

A further question relates to the motives and intentions of the authors as well as of the compiler, a question which leads to rather revealing discoveries. Two motives suggest themselves in the light of the age with its persecutions, and the struggle of the young Anabaptist movement toward self-realization; first, the motive of strengthening the brethren in days of agony and trial, and second, the motive of providing arguments in defense against others and for fortification against doubts and temptations in oneself. That is why a general polemical and defensive attitude prevails, although it is restrained by stressing more its own affirmation than the condemnation of the foreign errors. It is the fight against the "false prophets" everywhere, against the "scribes" of the day in the established churches, and against the mystical individualists who disliked all actual brotherhood with its strictness and its demand for self-denial. Warning against these temptations seems to have been the main purpose of this collection. Anabaptism was shaped by its Biblical antithesis to both the churches and the extra-church spiritual movements of its time. Through such a struggle it developed its

own position to greater clarity and strength, becoming conscious of its message and the power behind it.

It may have been that the others grasped this and for that reason so violently attacked the truth which challenged them. It is interesting to note that our small pocket manual found the honor of such opposition, for the Catholic Church in 1570 placed it on its *Index librorum prohibitorum,* the much disputed list of prohibited books.[26] It is unlikely that this measure was very effective in Holland, for about ten years later the Netherlands expelled the Spaniards and thus abolished the power of the Catholic Church in their country.

We are fortunate enough to know something about the spread of our book. It was circulated not only in the South German print and the Dutch translation, but also in manuscript copies among the Hutterian communities in Moravia. One of the happy discoveries of my research on this book was when I found by examining old notes that I had already studied it some twelve years ago in manuscript form. The respective Hutterian codices were then preserved in private hands in a medieval castle in the Austrian Alps (Schloss Mittersill). Later they disappeared into the commercial trade. Here are the records in my possession: Codex No. 221,[27] undated but approximately of the end of the sixteenth century, has not only the three pieces connected with the name of Sattler but also all our tracts in exactly the same form as in our book, namely without headings for the tract *On Evil Overseers* and for Melchior Rinck's *Epistle.* A second codex, No. 235,[28] entitled *Ein schönes tröstliches Büchlein* . . . , bears fortunately the date 1571, being one of the earliest Hutterian books. It contains only two pieces, namely *Von zweyerley Gehorsam and Von Hörung falscher Propheten und Widerchristen.*[29]

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26. Christian Sepp, *Verboden lectuur, een drietal indices librorum prohibitorum,* Leiden, 1889, p. 220 ff.

27. This is the former catalog number of the Library of the Catholic Chapter in Pressburg, Slovakia.

28. Josef von Beck described both codices in his *Geschicht-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Österreich-Ungarn,* Wien, 1883, p. XXIX, as Cod. I and II. Almost all Hutterian codices of the Pressburg Chapter (thirty volumes) were sold in 1919 to the owners of the aforementioned castle, and from there sold in 1934 to bookdealers. Their present location is unknown.

29. In the same codex is also the tract, "Concerning the true soldier of Christ," published by Robert Friedmann in the *M.Q.R.,* V, 1931, p. 87 ff.

Part I. The Bible Concordance

All these tracts together represent only the smaller second part of our book; its by far more voluminous part is the first one, the *Bible Concordance* or *Zeiger der namhafftigsten Sprüch aller biblischen Bücher alts vnd news Testaments . . .* This first part is also a book of highest interest. The combination of the two parts, whereby the tracts appear as a mere appendix to the primary Bible help, seems to be the original form, for it is found already in the Dutch edition of 1560,[30] which, as we know, was nothing but a translation of a German original. There is much to say about the literary species of concordances,[31] most typical for Protestant Christianity as a whole with its stress on Bible studies. The Anabaptists, being particularly strict in their observance of the Word of God, cherished even more than any other group this type of literature and therefore produced several excellent works in this field which are completely unknown to general church history.[32] Two kinds of concordances were in use, the "verbal" concordances or ABC-indices, with a mere listing of the respective loci (as modern Bible editions usually have it), and the "topical" concordances or compilations of texts under different headings chosen by the editor. The oldest German "verbal" concordance known is that by Jörg Burkmaier, printed at the famous office of Froschauer in Zurich, 1525. It was first published as a separate booklet of twenty pages with a beautifully decorated title page, but was later added to all editions of the Froschauer Bible, which was used later exclusively among the Swiss Brethren. The Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College has a fine copy of this oldest concordance.[33] Much more interesting to us is the "topical" concordance which presupposes a more or less creative

30. S. Cramer in the introduction to his edition of the tracts, *Bibl. Ref. Neerl.*, V., p. 588.

31. See *Menn. Lex.* II, pp. 541-542, article "Konkordanzen" by Hege, and Robert Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift . . ." in *Arch. f. Ref. Gesch.*, XXVIII, 1931, pp. 224-233, this section being the most extensive dealing with the subject.

32. H. E. Bindseil, "Über Bibelkonkordanzen" in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, XLIII, 1870, pp. 673-720, has almost nothing for our groups. No newer study on the subject is available.

33. Other outstanding concordances of this type are the concordance by Leonhard Brunner, Strassburg, 1530, later copied by the Hutterian Brethren, and the one by Johannes Piscator, Herborn in Nassau, Germany, 1610, with 1,607 pages. A copy of this volume is in the Goshen College Library coming from the library of the late Amish leader, S. D. Guengerich, Wellman, Iowa.

editor, and which by its spread exerted a positive educational influence. The arrangement was not always alphabetical, but at times arbitrary and diversified. Pilgram Marpeck's *Testamentserläuterung* (after 1544) was a book of this type.[34] Sebastian Franck, himself not an Anabaptist, but much liked among them, published several books of this type (*Güldin Arch,* 1538, *Das verbütschierte Buch . . .*, 1539). The most extensive concordance of this kind, however, is the outstanding Dutch production by Pieter Janz Twisk, the leader of a strict Dutch Mennonite group known as "Hard Frisians." It appeared first in 1615 as a large folio volume of 1,056 pages [35] and was reprinted a second time in 1748. The Hutterites also cherished books of this type among their extensive manuscript literature. The Catholic Chapter Library in Pressburg, Slovakia, for instance, has a manuscript volume called *Wörterkonkordanz . . .*, of 1642, with 1,046 leaves, written in masterly penmanship; and the National Library in Budapest, Hungary, has another one, a smaller yet even more valuable "topical" concordance with 162 leaves. They represent true household books of the Hutterian Brotherhood.

To this group of topical concordances, so little known outside the fold of the church, our *Zeiger* belongs. Presumably it is quite old and may date back further than Marpeck's afore-mentioned book, possibly to the early thirties of the sixteenth century. It contains no exhaustive list of items, as the verbal concordances usually do, but restricts itself to not more than sixty-six topics. Yet the very selection of these topics reveals an alert and devoted brother at work, and the reading of the book is a real strengthening even today. There is no doubt that it derives from the Swiss Brethren. Some of the articles are surprisingly short (e.g. the one on *Gemeinschaft*), while others are long and detailed like the one on *Verfolgung* which covers eighteen pages. It assures the student of the Bible that the persecuted ones will receive the particular grace of God. Even longer is the article on *False Prophets and the Antichrist* (twenty-four pages), which is worthy of note in view of the thoughts set forth

34. Cf. John C. Wenger, "Life and work of Pilgram Marpeck," *M.Q.R.*, XII, 1938, e.g., p. 162 and *passim*. An extensive description in W. Wiswedel, "Die Testamentserläuterung, ein Beitrag zur Täufergeschichte," *Zeitschrift für württembergische Kirchengeschichte,* XLI, 1937, pp. 64-76.

35. Goshen College Library has a well preserved copy.

in the second part of our book. Thus the unity of the book is proved again. It is also important to note that the anonymous compiler made not the slightest difference between quotations from the Old or from the New Testament; the Scripture was understood as a complete unity, much more than was usual in Lutheran Protestantism.

No wonder that our book soon became a favorite volume among the congregations of Swiss Brethren everywhere. An edition was published prior to 1560 (when the Dutch translation appeared), and there is our present edition of some later date, perhaps at the end of the sixteenth or the begining of the seventeenth century. We are particularly fortunate to be able to trace the line of new editions further on. The Mennonite Historical Library at Scottdale (Mennonite Publishing House) owns an edition of a *Concordanz-Büchlein* of 1693 which is identical with our text, yet without the second part of the book. John Horsch, who in 1929 published a printed catalogue of the library noted that this item was "probably a Mennonite book" (p. 87). He could not have known at that time the story behind his copy. It was a further pleasure to discover that the Mennonite Historical Collections in both Goshen College Library and Bluffton College Library possess an even later edition of 1709 (without place of publication). This edition, a handy book of 5″x3″, again contains only the concordance without the second part, and is identical with the edition of 1693.

That our book was popular among the brotherhood and highly esteemed, can be proved in still another way. It is by means of an old and almost forgotten book by a Swiss Reformed minister of the seventeenth century, who was commissioned by the authorities of Bern, Switzerland, to study the situation of the brethren and to give his opinion as to the most effective means for their extermination. In 1693 this man, Georg Thormann, published his findings in a book entitled *Probierstein oder schriftmässige gewissenhafte Prüfung des Täufertums*[36] in which we find among many accurate observations also the following revealing remark, "Ihr wisset, liebe Brüder, . . . was für ein Wesen sie [the Anabaptists] auch von ihrem Concordantzen Büchlein machen." John C. Wenger, who

36. Cf. John Horsch, "A Notable Testimony to the Life of the Anabaptists of Switzerland," in *M.Q.R.*, XV, 1941, p. 276.

quoted this passage,[37] suspected that Thormann referred to Pilgram Marpeck's *Testamentserläuterung.* It is not likely, however, that the *Testamentserläuterung* was popular among the Swiss congregations at that time; not a single copy has been found among the Mennonite congregations either in Europe or in America, and we do not know of any edition after 1544. Yet we know that in the very year of Thormann's report, in 1693, a new edition of the *Concordantz-Büchlein* had come out. There is little doubt that it was this edition which the investigator had in mind, the significance of which he inadvertently confirmed to us.

It is a long story which our small, plain-looking, well-worn book has revealed to us, a story of loyalty through the centuries to the brotherhood and its heritage, and above all to the unadulterated Word of God.

37. In his "Theology of Pilgram Marpeck," *M.Q.R.,* XII, 1938, p. 270.

AN EARLY EDITION OF THOMAS VON IMBROICH

Felix Reichmann

The history of sixteenth century Anabaptism is a history of persecution. Churches and civil authorities were united in one of the most terrible man hunts of mankind. As in the first centuries of Christianity, the institutions of the time felt themselves threatened by this expression of a new life, which was entirely based on the words of the Bible. It is true that Anabaptism can be called the "left wing" of the Reformation; it was the party of the common man and it did not acknowledge any kind of religious hierarchy; but it was not a political "left wing." The Anabaptists had no political ambitions and they could have none, because their citizenship was rather a heavenly than an earthly one.[1] They had no interest in political administration, if they only could follow their religious rules according to their conscience. The state and church authorities were not willing to yield to these demands. They tried to annihilate them with every means at their disposal and were convinced that their joint efforts would soon crush this little group. But again the world could see that the spirit is mightier than the sword; the hands of the hangman tired from his bloody work, for he was no match for the martyrs, who joyfully died for their religious convictions singing pious hymns to the last moment.

Hymns and religious meditations, these are the main source documents for early Anabaptism.[2] Death threatened the printer who was bold enough to publish the banned opinions. Printers and preachers were the main promoters of the movement and their work has remained the source for our knowledge of the history of this belief. The wrath of the authorities was turned especially against these two professions, which against all earthly odds insisted on doing their religious duty. Since persecution has destroyed almost all early imprints,[3] it is important when our meager treasure is en-

1. Bender, H. S., "The First Edition of the Ausbund," *M.Q.R.*, III, 1929, p. 147; Smith, C. H., *The Story of the Mennonites*, Berne, Ind., 1941.

2. Ramaker, A. J., "Hymns and Hymn Writers among the Anabaptists of the Sixteenth Century," *M.Q.R.* III, 1929, p. 93.

3. Bender, H. S., *"Recent Progress in Research in Anabaptist History," M.Q.R.* VIII, 1934, p. 3.

riched by a new find, and therefore I present here an early Anabaptist imprint which has been recently acquired by the Landis Valley Museum at Landis Valley, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

(Thomas von Imbroich)

Confessio / Ein schöne be / kanntnus eines frommen / und Gottliebenden Christen / samt etlichen Sendbrieffen und / Christliche Ermanungen auss heiliger / Schrift seiner Hausfraven und Brü / dern auss der Gefängnus ge / schrieben. / Mit kurtzem und doch / warhafftigen anzeigungen wie / er seinen Glauben durch krafft Got / tes (zu Cölln am Reyn) Anno 1558. den 5. / Mertz beständig mit seinem blut bezeuget / hat allen Christen und Gottesfürchti / gen gantz nützlich und tröstlich zu / lesen und zu hören. / Esaje am 59. Cap. / . . . N. p., n.d. (most probably Alsace between 1560 and 1600). Brown calf over wooden board, one clasp.

112 ff.n.m., 15 cm.

ff. 1-88 (sign. A-L) *Thomas von Imbroich, Confessio* and *Sendbrieffe*

ff. 89-104 (sign. M,N.) *Soecken von Holst, Ein Testament von einer frommen Gottliebhaberin* (ff. 102-4 blank)

ff. 105-109 (sign. O) *Ein new Lied* (Thomas' martyr song)

ff. 109 v.-111. *Ein hübsches new geistliches Lied von den geistlichen Schulern Christi.*

f. 112 blank.

Not mentioned in any bibliography (Goedeke, or Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* (reprints under 9403) nor *Catalogus der Doopsgezinde gemeente te Amsterdam,* nor Freytag *Flugschiftensammlung,* nor Hege-Neff *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (only reprints, II, 1937, p. 409).

No copy in any German library, no other copy in the United States.

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 38, 1894, mentions an edition (about 1560) in private possession with 88 ff. only, apparently the first part of the book above described.

The author, Thomas von Imbroich, a powerful preacher and a printer was an important figure in Anabaptist history. Thomas von Imbroich, also called Thomas von Truden or Thomas the printer, (*Trucker*) was born in 1533 in Ingenbroich, a small village near Aachen.[4] He was converted to Anabaptism as an adolescent, being twenty-one years old when he was rebaptized in Cologne. It was a period of a very efficient Anabaptist propaganda, the center of which was the printers' guild in Cologne. The town authorities were aware of the danger, and in the same year when Thomas was baptized (1554) the City Council issued severe warnings against the spread-

4. Keller, L. in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* 38, 13; Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* I, 215; Rembert, K., *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich,* 1899; Beck, J. *Geschichtsbücher der Wiedertäufer,* Wien, 1883, 234; Wolkan, *Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903.

ing of the movement. Since no response was given, as usual, persecution started. Thomas was arrested on the night before Christmas eve, 1557. The authorities tried for sixteen months to make him "repent his sins" or to give at least the names of his brethren, but all was in vain and so finally on March 5, 1558, he was beheaded. In jail he had written a confession of faith in order to make his belief clear to the judges of the inquisition. A copy of his manuscript had been smuggled out to his brethren, was immediately printed and widely circulated in the next years.

Two years after Thomas' death the Duke of Jülich issued an edict against Anabaptist books, dated March 9, 1560, which runs as follows: "As it has been ordered twice before, Anabaptist books shall not be sold nor be brought to this country. No books shall be offered for sale which have not been read and approved by the pastors." From a letter by Heinrich Bullinger addressed to Engelbert Fabritius in 1562 we learn that these edicts were especially directed against the *Confessio* of Thomas. Bullinger wrote[5]: "Libellum Thomae Imbroich fanaticam Anabaptistarum opinionem tenentem omnium manibus passim teri adeo a plerisque legi et ad sidera tolli viderem." The phrase "ad sidera tolli" gives Thomas credit for his great influence and explains why the authorities were so eager to ban his book and to destroy all copies. We learn from this that a print of the Confession had existed. It is not likely, that there were so many manuscript copies, that the book could "be in all hands."

The *Confessio* is one of the basic Anabaptist books, especially on the question of baptism. Thomas was much influenced by Melchior Hofmann, but was thoroughly familiar with Menno Simons, and somewhat with the patristic literature. He was also much interested in church history, but used historical facts mainly as a weapon against the Roman hierarchy. He was not willing to accept the theological explanations of the Protestant church or of scholastic doctrine, but accepted as truth only the words of the Gospel. His enemies called him a dangerous fanatic. Possibly he was a fanatic, but not of the type who send their adversaries to the stake. Rather, he sacrificed his own body. Dangerous he was. The sincerity of his convictions and his moral purity could not fail to make a lasting impression. The logical clearness of his mind made his book an important weapon in this great struggle to determine the real Chris-

5. Ottius, J. H., *Annales Anabaptistici,* Basel, 1672, p. 128.

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SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

tian way of life. As late as 1692 his book was specifically cited by the authorities of Berne as forbidden literature.

The literary history of Anabaptism does not mention an early edition of the *Confessio.* Only the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* in the article on Thomas, states that an edition printed about 1560 had been in private possession. This book, described as containing 88 leaves, was apparently incomplete. It has disappeared in the meantime. No library in Germany, in the Netherlands, or in the United States lists an early German edition. The Mennonite Central Library in Amsterdam has a Dutch edition of 1579, which contains the *Confessio* and the martyr song about Thomas (*Ein New Lied*). Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1660 includes most of the *Confessio.* The first complete reprint of the *Confessio* and of the *Sendbrieffe* is in the Palatinate edition of the *Güldene Aepffel in Silbernen Schalen* of 1702. It was only after the great Mennonite emigration to Pennsylvania, that Thomas' book was frequently reprinted although never in a separate edition. The *Confessio* was included in Saur's *Ausbund,*[6] the *Confessio* and *Sendbrieffe* in the *Güldene Aepffel* (Ephrata, 1745). The Ephrata edition of the *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1748/49, printed in German translation the parts which had been included in the Dutch edition of 1660. The other parts of our little volume were frequently reprinted in America. Soecken von Holst is published in *Güldene Aepffel* and the martyr song about Thomas is included as hymn No. 23 in the *Ausbund.*[7]

The *Lied von den geistlichen Schulern Christi* was first found by Wolkan in early seventeenth century manuscripts of the Moravian Hutterites.[8] It was printed in the *20 Neue Geistliche Lieder* (Palatinate, 1758) and is still used by the Hutterites in Canada.[9] That this hymn is included in our Thomas edition throws new light upon its origin. Since it is not likely that a Hutterite hymn would have been printed in our volume, it is much more probable that the song originated in the Palatinate or Alsace and had been imported to Moravia. Most probably it is more than a coincidence, that just during Thomas' lifetime intimate connections existed between the Moravian Hutterites and the "Swiss Brethren on the Rhine." One of the travelling Hutterian Brethren, Hänsel Schmidt, was arrested

6. First edition 1732, republished 1751, 1767 and 1785.
7. Wackernagel, Ph., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied,* Leipzig, 1877, V, p. 811.
8. Wolkan, *op.cit.,* p. 159.
9. *Gesangbüchlein,* Alberta, Canada, 1930.

and executed in Aachen in 1558 in the same year when Thomas died. There can hardly be any doubt that the hymn was written during the second half of the sixteenth century somewhere in Alsace or Switzerland by a close follower of Thomas if not by the martyr himself.

The mere fact that the vowels in the unaccented syllables are frequently omitted proves the South German or Alemanic dialect of the poem.[10] So for instance verse 5 *gnug,* verse 8 *kaufft, bsehen,* etc. The Alemanic dialect is further clearly shown in the forms *Merckend auff, sind unverdrossen* in verse 1. We have here the second person plural of the imperative, which regularly has the ending *et* or the form *seid.* It is a striking characteristic of the Alemanic dialect, that the second person plural of the present indicative has the same form as the third person plural. As the second person plural of the present is also used as imperative, this Alemanic usage also extends to the imperative. Further proofs for the Alemanic dialect are: the form *nemmen* with double *m* in verse 3; the long open *o* instead of the long *a* for instance in verse 2 *stohn, gohn,* verse 3 *thon* for *gethan,* verse 26 *gohn lohn.*[11] *Went* (verse 32) and *wend* (verse 39) are Alemanic forms for *wollet,* also used as auxiliary of the future. Verse 36, *ihr mögen* is again the Alemanic use of the third person plural for the second person in the present indicative.

The rhyme in verse 29, *daryn, seyn,* is clear Swiss or Alsatian dialect. The *y* stands for a long *i,* but this long *i* became later the diphthong *ei.* In Swiss and Alsatian dialect the long *i* was retained. In our text the author retains the form *rayn,* although the rhyme would demand the diphthongized form *dareyn.*

It can be stated with considerable assurance, that the hymn belongs to the second half of the sixteenth century. Forms like *gohn, lohn, stohn* (instead of the long *a*) are rarely found in print after 1600. *Was* (in verse 15) is the predominating form in the sixteenth century, later on it is regularly replaced by *war. Lehren* in the sense of *lernen* (verses 3 and 27) is rare in the written language after 1600, though common enough in the sixteenth century. Of special interest is *weisse Watt* in verse 18. The word *Watt*

10. Dr. J. A. Walz of the German Department of Harvard University was kind enough to give me an exhaustive linguistic critique. I am quoting from his letter. I am greatly indebted to Professor Walz for his permission to reprint parts of his analysis.

11. The orthography was not consistent in the sixteenth century, so we find verse 6 *ghan, lahn,* verse 23 *gethan, han.*

in the sense of *Kleidung* was once very common, but disappeared from the living language during the seventeenth century.

Compared with the Palatinate edition of 1758 our text shows clearly the older spelling. *V* is used instead of *u*, *j* instead of *i*, and capital letters for nouns are used irregularly. A few specimens of text comparisons between the two editions will further prove our assumption.

	Our edition	Edition of 1758
title	*new*	*neu*
verse 2	*jugendt auff*	*Jugend auf*
5	*strafft*	*straft*
7	*het eyngenommen*	*hätt eingenommen*
8	*eylendts*	*cilends*
9	*auff dass*	*auf dass*
12	*Frewd*	*Freud*
17	*wie kumpts*	*wie kommts*
24	*trurig*	*traurig*
28	*neñen*	*nennen*
30	*Reichthumb*	*Reichthum*
33	*ernden*	*erndten*

We reach the same conclusion by comparing the print of Thomas' martyr song in our edition with the reprint of 1758. Besides frequent *vnd* (*und*) *jn* (*ihn*) *was* (*war*) we find:

	Our edition	Edition of 1758
line 6	*vmb*	*um*
10	*auff*	*auf*
12	*jr geschrey*	*ihr Geschrey*
16	*vñ gebē Bscheid*	*und gaben Bscheid*
24	*Pabst*	*Pabsts (genitive)*
27	*frundt*	*Freund*
33	*fraw*	*Frau*
36	*Jr erfrewet*	*Ihr erfreuet*
37	*cwern*	*euern*
38	*seind*	*seynd*
44	*trawren*	*trauren*
47	*auffgelacht*	*aufgelagt*
82	*sonder*	*ohne*
96	*Irrthumb*	*Irrthum*

That our edition precedes every American reprint can be shown by comparison of our text of the *Confessio* with the Ephrata print of 1745.

CONFESSIO.

Ein schöne bekanntnuß eines frommen vnd Gottliebenden Christen/ sampt etlichen Sendbrieffen / vnd Christliche Ermanungen auß heiliger Schrifft/seiner Hausfrawen vnd Brüdern auß der Gefängnuß geschrieben.

Mit kurtzem vnd doch warhafftigen anzeigungen wie er seinen Glauben/ durch krafft Gottes (zu Cölln am Reyn) Anno 1558. den 5. Mertz / beständig mit seinem blut bezeuget hat/ allen Christen vnd Gottesförchtigen gantz nutzlich vnd tröstlich zu lesen vnd zu hören.

Esaie am 59. Cap.

Die Warheit ist hingenommen/ vnd welcher sich von dem bösen zeuchet der muß beraubt werden.

Ein new Lied von einem Druckergesellen Thomas von Imbroich genandt/ welcher zu Cölln am Reyn vmb der Warheit willen enthaupt worden. Als man zehlt 1558. den fünfften tag im Mertz.

Im thon als man singet durch Adams fall/ &c.

Luce 21.

Es werden geschehen grosse Erdbidem hin vnd wider Pestilentz / theure zeit vnd schrecken/ auch werden grosse Zeichen vom Himmel geschehen. Aber vor diesem allen werden sie die händ an euch legen / vnd verfolgen / vnd werden euch überantworten in jhre Schulen vnd Gefängknussen / vnd für Könige vnd Fürsten ziehen / vmb meines Nammens willen.

Hebre. 12.

Mein Sohn / acht nicht gering / die züchtigung deß Herren vnd laß nicht ab / wann du von jhm gestrafft wirst/ dann welchem der Herr lieb hat / den straffet er.

Reduced Facsimiles from the unique copy of Thomas von Imbroich in the Landis Valley Museum.

Das Saltz ist &

Der Lungen/den *Humoribus Radicalibus*, vnnd allen theilen des Leibs / do dise feuchtigkeiten jhr *Habitation* vnd Wohnunge habendt } Zů geeignet.

¶ *Paracelsus* stimbt mit den Alten Philosophen in disem Gewechs / fast aller Kresften/die sie gegen den innerlichen Gliderer erzeigen sollen/ zů/ Allein daß er für die Corporalische Materien/ die Geistliche substantzen/ als der Wurtz/ Krauts/ Blůsts/ vnd Sohmens Subtiliteten derselbigen applicieren lert / vnnd weil dieselbigen vil kreffriger / ein geringere / vnnd der Natur gemessere *Portion*/ brauchen heisse.

¶ Wider die *Apostemata* vñ Hitz der Lungen vnd Leber/ Also wider den Hůsten/ vñ wider die *Strangulariam* oder das erstecknot Halßwehe der Kinder/ das Oel teglich dreymahl ½. eines Lots gebraucht/ ist sehr nützlich eingenommen.

¶ Ein halbes Quintlein inn Milch genossen / treibt die Wurm ab / vnd vertreibt das Krimmen.

Art/ Eigenschafft vnnd Gebrauch deß Gewechs *FOENICVLI HORTENSIS*/ nach Paracelsischer weis/welche Leiplich/ Materialisch / vnd Complexionalisch ist / Ausserthalben deß Kindelichen Leibs.

¶ Das *Antidotum* mit Chamillen Oel vermischt / vnd mit dem die Gliedlein der Kinder geschmiret/ vertreibt jnen den Krampf.

¶ Die Leiblein einer handt breit vmb den Nabel damit gesalbet/ vertreibt jhn das Bauchkrimmen/ vnd treibt die Wurm ab/ macht Winde/ vnd öffnet jnen das Leiblein/ Es reinigt den Magen vnd das Gederm/ vñ öffnet die *Poros* darmit die böse Tunst so zwischen Fell vnd Fleisch ligen / vnnd vil böser Feuchtigkeit verursachen / darauß getriben werden.

¶ Das Saltz mit Meyenbutter zů einem Selblein gemacht/ vnnd die böse Rauden deß Grinds auff dem Haupt oder am Leiblein damit geschmieret/ mache die Görren vnd heylen.

G ij Wirckende

Illustration of Types used by Hentzsken, Berlin, 1578

Reproduced from Updike, Printing Types.

Our copy	Ephrata 1745
v	*u*
sampt	*samt*
Frawen	*Frauen*
Reyn	*Rhein*
Mertz	*Martz*
Gottesförchtigen	*Gottesfürchtigen*
Todt	*Tod*
from̃	*fromme*
verhalten	*verbergen*
sichsten	*siehest du*
darumb	*darum*
nit	*nicht*
vñ	*und*
do	*da*
mañlich	*männlich*
aufgelcht	*aufgelegt*
wol	*wohl*
bekeñ	*bekenne*
stahn	*stehe*

Spelling and grammar everywhere point to the conclusion that our little volume is a product of the second half of the sixteenth century. The typographical arrangement leads to the same judgment. *V* is used instead of *u*, *j* instead of *i*. The abbreviations created in the writing schools of the middle ages and preserved in the prints of the fifteenth and sixteenth century are frequently used; for instance *vñ* for *und* and *mänlich* for *männlich*. These abbreviations are very rare after 1600. A further important point is, that throughout the whole book the sign for the comma is the long line above the line (/) instead of the small (,) below the line. The whole typographical appearance of the page is distinctly different from the eighteenth century reprints. We need only compare the two *Confessio* title pages to see this (our edition and Ephrata 1745). The structure of our title page reveals a different approach to typographical beauty, another mentality than Ephrata. The eighteenth century is much more symmetric, calm, and I would almost say classicistic than the prints of the sixteenth century with its typical irregularity. The differences in the general appearance are strengthened by a comparison to type details. The capital *E* in *Ein Schoene bekanntnuss*, the *s*, the *h*, are typical for the ornamental taste of the sixteenth century. I refer to the title page of the 1564 print of the Ausbund reproduced in Bender's, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (1929). As a proof that this is the typical form in

the sixteenth century I reproduce a page printed by Hentzsken in Berlin, 1578.[12] We find here in the word *Eigenschaft* almost exactly the same capital *E,* the same *s* and *h*. Surely also the eighteenth century used ornamental letters, for instance the word *Martyr* on the title page of the Ephrata *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1748,[13] but the ductus is of an entirely different character. The eighteenth century overemphasized the ornament, the word becomes unclear and difficult to read, while the sixteenth century types are nearer to the handwriting, to the ductus of the pen. Eighteenth century typography is unclear only in ornamental letters, the general aspect of the page shows a definite trend to symmetrical structure.

A good example are the two pages of the song, *Von den geistlichen Schulern Christi.* The penmanship of the capital S in the first verse is clear in our print, the edition of 1758 is so ornamental that the letter is difficult to be understood. But this picture is reversed when we consider the general aspect of the page. The eighteenth century print is clearer, it is a link in the great typographical development which led to the symmetrically organized pages of the great printers of the period such as Bodoni and Didot. In comparison with this our print still has the character of the late Gothic style which is familiar to us from the pages of Feyerabend and other German printers of the second half of the sixteenth century.

An analysis of the paper used in our print does not help much in solving the question at stake. The paper has no watermarks and shows the strong coarse fibres customary in the paper of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The binding is a simple leather binding without any decoration and most probably of around 1600.

Spelling and grammar in our little volume show clearly that the text has been written in the second half of the sixteenth century somewhere in South Germany, in Alsace, or in Switzerland. I was not able to identify the printer. Most probably he was not one of the famous members of the craft, for the character of the book would exclude the great names of sixteenth century German typography. The types used are worn and the printing is irregular. It was a dangerous printing job and most probably the printer did not have the leisure to do a typographical masterpiece.

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12. Updike, D. B., *Printing Types,* and ed., Cambridge, 1937, I, fig. 78.

13. See frontispiece in Bender's, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* (1929).

Where did the printer live? We know that the printers' guild in Cologne was an Anabaptist stronghold, and we know that Thomas himself was a printer. It would be very tempting to assume that one of Thomas' close followers, a follower in profession and in faith, printed the little volume. But this would be wishful thinking. We have no historical evidence to prove such an assumption. All that we can say is that our print is the earliest edition of the *Confessio* known to date. The types used in the book do not point to Switzerland, so it is more probable that it was printed somewhere in the Rhine Valley, perhaps in Cologne, more likely in Alsace. It cannot be proven that our volume is the lost first edition of the *Confessio* probably printed about 1560, but there can be no doubt that we can classify it as a sixteenth century German Anabaptist print.[14]

14. I am much indebted to Dean Harold S. Bender of Goshen College and Dr. Robert Friedmann of the Mennonite Historical Library in Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, for valuable help and advice.

THE RITTENHOUSE PAPER MILL AND ITS FOUNDER

GEORGE ALLEN

Although the first printing press established in the English colonies was that of Stephen Daye, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, towards the end of 1638 or the beginning of 1639, it was not until fifty years later, in 1690, that the first mill for the manufacture of paper was erected in the colonies.

While it is true that several persons were concerned with financing, building, and operating the first American paper mill, the most important roles in the venture belong to William (or Willem, or Wilhelm) Rittenhouse (or Rittinghuysen, or Rittershausen, or Rÿttinghuisen, etc.) and his son, Nicholas (or Klaus, in German, Klaas, in Dutch, and Claus, in English), born Germans but naturalized in the Netherlands.

A rather enthusiastic descendant of William Rittenhouse once claimed that he was of Hapsburg descent, and likewise of the lineage of Emperor Maximilian I. More accurate research, however, has shown that all his ancestors were of quite middle-class origin. He was born in the year 1644, the son of George and Maria (Hagerhoff) Rittenhouse, in the Principality of Broich, near the city of Mülheim on the Ruhr, Germany, where his mother and brother, Heinrich Nicholaus, and a sister, were living as late as 1678. At this time and for years later the family spelled their name "Rittinghuysen." Persons of the same name still live in the province of Westfalen, in the neighborhood of Lüdenscheid.[1]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Rittenhouse family may have belonged to the Reformed faith, then predominant in their region in Germany. However towards the middle of the century there was a great religious upheaval. The minister in those parts, Theodore Undereyck, introduced the teaching of Jean de Labadie into the region and opposed the Lutheran Count Wilhelm

1. Daniel K. Cassel, *A Genea-biographical History of the Rittenhouse Family*, Philadelphia, 1893, p. 47 *ff* and XXXI *ff*. For the corrected genealogy, see Olive B. Rowland, *An ancestral chart and handbook*, Richmond, Va., 1935, p. 29. Cassel is so unreliable that I have in main only used him when he gives a copy of some document that I have not been able to find in the original.

Wirich von Broich. As a result of the unpleasantness caused by their disagreement in things religious, many of the followers of the new faith left the district, William Rittenhouse and his family possibly being among them.[2]

Very little is known of the activities of William Rittenhouse at this time. It is possible that he learned the trade of paper-maker in the third oldest mill of the Rhineland, that of Adolph Vorster, in Broich, opposite Mülheim. About the year 1670, however, he left this region, presumably in order to engage in the manufacture of paper at Arnheim, Holland, and perhaps spurred on by the religious differences of his sect. William Barton, the biographer of David Rittenhouse, was told in 1778 by Adrian Rittinghuysen, an old man at the time, that his father, Heinrich Nicholaus, who was also the brother of William, had practiced the paper-making trade in Arnheim, as had others in his family.[3]

The first precise information we have concerning William Rittenhouse is from a German document, dated July 25, 1678, in Broich, in answer to a request made by William, now a resident of Amsterdam, for a certificate telling the date of his birth, in order to use it "at the proper place"! His brother, Heinrich Nicholaus Rittenhouse, as well as his sister and mother, here state that he was born in 1644. This request was made so that William might become a citizen of Amsterdam. A Dutch document of June 23, 1679, shows that he took the oath of citizenship on that day, subscribing himself as "Willem Ruddinghuysen, of Mülheim, papermaker." The words "of Mülheim," of course, refer to his birthplace, not his most recent place of residence.[4]

According to family tradition, William Rittenhouse, with his family, moved to New York while the Dutch were still in power. But as England took permanent control of that region in 1674, and, as we have just seen, Rittenhouse was still in Amsterdam in 1679, this

2. Armin Renker, "Zweihundertfünfzig Jahre Papiermacherei in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika; Wilhelm Rittinghausen aus Mülheim (Ruhr) ihr Begründer," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch,* Mainz, 1939, p. 40, makes this supposition. Daniel K. Cassel, *History of the Mennonites,* Philadelphia, 1888, p. 364, doubts that Rittenhouse was a Mennonite at this time, because he signed an oath on June 23, 1679, which he could not, as a Mennonite, have done, unless the clerk certified that his promise was given instead of an oath. As the form was printed, the clerk might have omitted noting the irregularity. I am inclined to believe that Rittenhouse was a Mennonite when he left home, though there is no evidence for it.

3. William Barton, *Memoirs of the life of David Rittenhouse,* Philadelphia, 1813, p. 80.

4. Cassel, *op. cit.,* p. 364, reproduces and translates the document.

statement cannot be true. It seems more probable that Rittenhouse, with his wife,[5] his sons, Gerhard and Nicholas (or Klaus, etc.), and his daughter, Elizabeth, emigrated to New York in 1688 or the early part of 1689. A genealogical record of about 1800 in the possession of William Barton[6] said that they arrived there in 1690, and that, while they were there, Nicholas married Wilhelmina De Wees, sister of William De Wees, both families having arrived at about the same time, and that later they moved to the neighborhood of Philadelphia. However a New York church record[7] says that Nicholas Rittenhouse, "a young man of Arnheim, living on the Delaware River," married Wilhelmina De Wees in the local Reformed church in 1689, so that they must have known each other in Holland or met on the passage over. Perhaps William De Wees obtained a temporary position in New York, while living with his sister and the rest of his family, and Nicholas came to Philadelphia with his father and their family, in order to prepare a home for the bride-to-be, later going back to New York to marry her and then bring her with him to Germantown. As early as 1689 we also find William Rittenhouse and his son owning lots in Germantown.[8]

Whatever the exact date of their arrival, it is certain that the Rittenhouse family did not remain in New York for a long time. For although there were persons there who spoke their language, the Rittenhouses could have found no steady market for the trade which they surely meant to establish, once they had the necessary backing; for there was, as yet, no printing establishment nearer than Philadelphia.

It is interesting to speculate how much the Rittenhouses knew of the newly established city on the Delaware and its founder, William Penn. The latter had sent many tracts into Holland, among other places, detailing the advantages of his recently acquired land in America, and it is probable that New York was a mere stopping-place for the family, until it could find transportation to the province which was described in the most flattering words by any number of pamphlets circulated in Holland.

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5. There is no record that the wife of Rittenhouse ever came to this country, though it has been assumed by almost everyone.

6. Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

7. *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* Vol. X, p. 131, as quoted in Lyman H. Weeks, *A History of Paper-Manufacturing in the United States, 1690-1916,* New York, 1916, p. 10.

8. Naaman H. Keyser, et al. *History of Old Germantown,* Germantown, Pa., 1907, p. 38, gives the list of lot-owners at this time.

Once in Philadelphia, the Rittenhouses seem to have lost little time in finding capital and a market for their trade. It is too much to suppose, without any confirmatory evidence, that William Bradford, the printer, encouraged them to come over to the New World with an offer of financial help.[9] However after they found backers for their enterprise, among them Bradford, they began to build a mill, towards the end of 1690. The first notice of the establishment of the mill in the neighborhood of Philadelphia is found in one of the countless tracts printed for the encouragement of colonization in Pennsylvania, entitled *Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania* (London, 1691),[10] in which letters were printed telling of the progress made in the colony and the advantages and benefits which were to be had from migrating. Among the abstracts is a sentence from a letter, written by Bradford, the printer, to a friend in London, on November 18, 1690, stating that "Samuel Carpenter and I are Building a Paper-Mill about a Mile from thy Mills at Skulkill, and hope we shall have Paper within less than four months." From this letter it can be seen that, though the mill was begun in 1690, no paper could possibly have been produced before 1691.

The next writer to mention the new mill is Richard Frame, an early settler of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania's first poet, in a poem entitled *A Short Description of Pennsylvania, Or, A Relation What things are known, enjoyed, and like to be discovered in in* [sic] *the said Province.* This poetic curiosity was printed at Philadelphia in 1692 by William Bradford. However little we may like doggerel verse, we may pardon Frame this once because of the wealth of information which he gives on the mill. After discussing other important sections of Pennsylvania, he turns to the village of Germantown and says;

> The German-Town, of which I spoke before,
> Which is, at least in length one Mile or more,
> Where lives High-German People, and Low-Dutch,
> Whose Trade in weaving Linen Cloth is much.

9. In an article in S. F. Hotchkin, *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill,* Philadelphia, 1889, p. 118, Horatio Gates Jones expresses the belief that Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, induced the Rittenhouses to come to Germantown, because "he knew the importance of having a paper mill in this colony." However I doubt this. In his correspondence at this time, printed under the title *Umständige geographische Beschreibung Pensylvaniae,* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1700, he does not even refer to the existence of the mill, which he would certainly have done if he had been connected with it. On the other hand in several letters he says that he wishes he knew how to operate a printing press, and moreover even tried to have his brother come over to Philadelphia in order to manage one.

10. Page 8.

There grows the Flax, as also you may know,
That from the same they do derive the Tow;
Their trade fits well within this Habitation,
We find Convenience for their Occasion.
One Trade brings in imployment for another,
So that we may suppose each Trade a Brother;
From Linen Rags good Paper doth derive,
The first Trade keeps the second Trade alive;
Without the first, the second cannot be,
Therefore since these two can so well agree,
Convenience doth appear to place them nigh,
One in *German-Town*, t'other hard by.
A *Paper-Mill* near *German-Town* doth stand,
So that the Flax, which first springs from the Land,
First Flax, then Yarn, and then they must begin
To weave the same, which they took pains to spin.
Also, when on our backs it is well worn,
Some of the same remains Ragged and Torn;
Then of the Rags our Paper it is made,
Which in process of time dost waste and fade:
So, what comes from the Earth, appeareth plain,
The same in Time, returns to Earth again.[11]

In 1696 another writer, Judge John Holme, wrote a poem, equally curious, in which he gives a description of every item in the country he could possibly squeeze into couplets. The poem, entitled "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pensilvania," refers to the paper mill in the following words:

Here dwelt a printer and I find
That he can both print books and bind;
He wants not paper, ink nor skill
He's owner of a paper mill.
The paper mill is here hard by
And makes good paper frequently,
But the printer, as I do here tell,
Is gone into New York to dwell.
No doubt but he will lay up bags
If he can get good store of rags.
Kind friend, when thy old shirt is rent
Let it to th' paper mill be sent.[12]

Gabriel Thomas, who lived in Pennsylvania for some time, wrote *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Coun-*

11. As quoted in Horatio Gates Jones, "Historical Sketch of the Rittenhouse Paper-Mill; the First Erected in America, A. D. 1690," published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XX, October, 1896, p. 317. I am indebted to Jones for much of my material. His was the first article on the mill, and still is the best.

12. As quoted in Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 318. The poem remainded in manuscript until 1847, when it was first published.

try of Pennsylvania; and of West-New-Jersey in America. (London, 1698). In this tract[13] he says, "All sorts of very good *Paper* are made in the *German-town;* as also very fine *German Linen,* such as no Person of Quality need be asham'd to wear . . . ." Here the word "Germantown" undoubtedly signifies Roxborough, in which the mill actually was built, as well as Germantown proper, since Roxborough as yet had no definite name, and the mill was only a short distance from the Germantown line. It is interesting to note in passing, that while a number of English writers mention the new mill, a translation of this book by Thomas into German contains the only reference to its existence in that tongue, which was also the native language of the founder.

Although their names were not mentioned at all, it is evident that the paper mill established by the Rittenhouses is referred to in all these extracts. But the first actual mention of the Rittenhouses in Philadelphia, besides the marriage entry of Nicholas and a statement that they owned several lots in Germantown in 1689, is found among the names of the so-called "sixty-four of the first Germantown Inhabitants," who were naturalized by Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, on May 7, 1691.[14]

It would seem that William Rittenhouse, and his son Nicholas, almost immediately after they arrived, set about to find persons who would help finance a paper mill. The beginning of the actual erection of the mill took place about the month of September, 1690, although the title to the land on which the mill was built bears the date of "the Ninth day of the twelfth month called February, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne over England, etc., Anno Domini 1705-6."[15] The grantor is Samuel Carpenter, of Philadelphia, and the grantee is William Rittenhouse, who by that time was sole owner of the mill. The lease was to extend for a period of nine hundred and seventy-five years from September 29, 1705, for fifteen years had already elapsed from the original figure

13. Page 42 in the lithographic facsimile of 1848 (New York).

14. The document has recently been rediscovered in the library of the Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa., and has been reproduced in the *American German Review,* Vol. VII, No. 1 (October, 1940), pp. 30-32, in an article by Gerhard Friedrich entitled "Pastorius' Naturalization Paper." On February 20, 1713, the name of "Nicholas Rittinghouse" is also included in an "Act for the better enabling divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania, to hold and enjoy Lands, Tenements and Plantations, in the said Province," *Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia, 1728, p. 92.

15. For the full document see Cassel, *Genea-biographical History,* p. 52 ff.

of nine hundred and ninety years, which term had apparently been set only by a verbal agreement between Rittenhouse and Carpenter, and was finally made into a written contract at this late date.

The land had originally belonged to William Harwood, being part of a much larger tract. He leased one hundred acres, of which this plot, mainly of meadow-land and extending from the township line to the Wissahickon Creek, was twenty, to Carpenter. At that time it was the custom to rent land for a fixed amount, with a stipulation that the leaseholder might buy it after a certain number of years. Before the land was actually bought from Harwood, on September 29, 1690, Carpenter arranged verbally to rent a portion of it to Rittenhouse, and company. But the actual document, showing the terms of the transaction, was not drawn up until fifteen years later, when the original partnership had been dissolved and William Rittenhouse owned all the shares of stock.[16]

The partners of the Rittenhouses in this venture were very important men of their day. Samuel Carpenter[17] and Robert Turner were extensive land owners, as well as friends and advisers of William Penn; Thomas Tresse was a rich ironmonger; and William Bradford was the first printer to print in the Middle Colonies. But, however important these men were to the order of things, it is obvious that the most important member of the concern was William Rittenhouse, with his son Nicholas.[18]

From the very beginning the mill was run by a corporation. A fair amount of money was necessary for such a venture, for acquiring land, wood, and tools (which probably had to be imported, unless the Rittenhouses brought theirs with them), and there were many advantages in having a group of men as investors, at least until the mill was firmly established. It is not known precisely why the partnership was dissolved, but, some time before 1705, William

16. Cassel, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6 prints the document in its entirety.

17. It is difficult to decide the exact status of Carpenter. At one period Bradford said "Samuel Carpenter and I are Building a Paper-mill," but it is doubtful if Carpenter was actually a partner, despite the close relationship which Bradford indicated in this letter. He did provide the land, and perhaps the back rent was paid by Rittenhouse to buy him out.

18. Lawrence Wroth, in *Das amerikanische Buchwesen,* ed. H. Lehmann-Haupt, Leipzig, 1937, p. 14, and p. 26, and in *The Colonial Printer* (2nd edition), Portland, Maine, 1938, pp. 126-7, by a curious reversal of the natural order of thought gives the impression that the elder Rittenhouse was a mere hireling of Bradford's. Inasmuch as Bradford was only one member of the partnership, though the mill's best customer, it seems to me only fair to give the Rittenhouses credit for its establishment, and note that they were mutually dependent for their success.

Rittenhouse managed to purchase the shares in the hands of the other men and become sole owner. Since he was a practical man, and capable of making his mill run profitably, it was only logical for him to try to purchase the shares of the others as soon as possible. Presumably the mill was under the management of William Rittenhouse and his son, Nicholas, who later became a partner with his father, and, upon his father's death, gained sole ownership of the mill. The Rittenhouses succeeded in buying Turner's share about 1697, Tresse's about 1701, shortly after the destruction of the mill by a freshet, and Bradford's in 1704.[19]

Shortly after the erection of the mill Bradford managed to offend the Quaker authorities, always a simple task, first, because he printed a charter for which, they said, he had no permission, and then, by printing a pamphlet written by George Keith, a seceding Scotch Quaker and, according to contemporary Quaker notions, one of the foremost local emissaries of the Devil. In 1693 Bradford left Philadelphia for the more salubrious regions of New York City where in May or June, 1693, he established the first printing press in that colony. He still kept his interest in the paper mill, however, and depended on it for much of his paper supply. Unfortunately, because he was so remote from the mill, he was forced, in 1697, to rent his share to the Rittenhouses, father and son. The original lease, with the water-mark WR, the initials of the maker's name, is still preserved.[20] From this it can be seen that Bradford was to have, for his share of the mill, "ye full quantity of Seven Ream of printing paper, Two Ream of good writing paper, and two Ream of blue paper," totaling six pounds, two shillings in value, per annum, and a monopoly of all the printing paper produced at the mill from September 1, 1697 to September 1, 1707. For their share the Rittenhouses promised to keep the mill in good repair at their own expense.

The quantity of paper made at the mill is not stated, but it is possible to guess approximately what the capacity of the mill was. Horatio Gates Jones, who first studied the subject, conjectured that from twelve to fifteen hundred reams of paper of all kinds were made there in the course of a year, and this is probably fairly near the correct amount.

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19. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
20. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 323-324, reproduces the document.

Until a short time ago it had not been determined definitely where, on the original tract of twenty acres, the mill was first located. A good many years ago a writer in the *Sunday Dispatch*[21] of Philadelphia said that a descendant of Rittenhouse told him that the first mill was built on Crab Creek, later called Tulpehocken Creek, one quarter of a mile northeast of the Wissahickon Creek. While it is true that Paper Mill Run (formerly Monoshone Creek) is more of a "creek" than a "run," and Crab Creek is only a "run," nevertheless the original lease would seem to settle the matter. But as no sign of the original building or even of the second structure could be seen, the exact location was for years a matter of conjecture. In 1933, however, Mr. James F. Magee, Jr., of Philadelphia, a specialist on early American water-marks, made a most interesting discovery. About three hundred and thirty feet up-stream, and on the other side of the river from the house, still standing, built by the Rittenhouses in 1707, he found a small rock, the top of which had been bored at two places, making holes of about three inches depth. Since he found the rock at a point not far below the confluence of two smaller streams, where a good deal more water flows than further up-stream, Mr. Magee came to the conclusion that this was the site of the first, as well as the second, mill, the second having been built on or very near the site of the first. The stone probably served to hold firm a post, and keep it from sinking.[22]

The stone building which is still standing near the site of the old mill in Fairmount Park is commonly called the Rittenhouse mill. It was erected in 1707 by the father, William, and the son, Nicholas (i. e. Claus), as is evident from the inscription $\frac{W}{1707}\ C\ R$ on the one side of the house. This quaint structure, however, was always used as a residence and never for any other purpose. It is perhaps better

21. Cited in Joseph Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia,* Harrisburg, Pa., 1933, Vol. IV, p. 965. The date of the article is not given, nor have I been able to find it.

22. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Magee for this and other information which he gave me in an interview on September 9, 1940, and later, as well as for several kind suggestions. Mr. Magee adds that the stone may belong to the second mill, as a result of the lesson the Rittenhouses learned from the feebleness of the first structure. Rods, inserted in the end of a post, were probably placed in the holes. It is of course possible that the stone was used for some entirely different construction, but as no other buildings are known to have been on this plot of land, Mr. Magee's view seems quite tenable.

known as the birthplace of David Rittenhouse, astronomer, than the home of the country's earliest paper-makers.

There is no picture or description of the earliest mills extant, and it is not known exactly how they looked. According to William McCulloch, in a letter to Isaiah Thomas, an early writer on the history of printing, the original mill was built of logs, and the building extended over an undershot water-wheel, as there was no dam or race.[23] From a statement made by Nicholas Rittenhouse to William Bradford, after a freshet had washed away the mill, it can be seen that much "scantling" and board, presumably clapboard, was saved from the wreckage. Because of this evidence many persons are apt, against their better judgment, to agree with the none too trustworthy McCulloch that the mill was made of logs, and covered with clapboard, and probably extended directly over the stream, in this way being more likely to be swept away by a freshet than if it were on the shore entirely, and had a small run to supply the water for the wheel.[24] The structure itself was also, no doubt, quite small, and probably with a loft in it in which to dry the finished paper.

We do not know exactly how the Rittenhouses made the paper in their mill. However, since they learned their trade in Germany or Holland, it is obvious that the methods used in their mill would be as near to those of the men in these countries as their material and knowledge would permit. The mill was, as we have seen, apparently built of logs, near or directly over Paper Mill Run, both in order to have water to operate the trip hammer used for pounding the pulp, and in order to dampen the mass of rags for decomposition. The mill was either set part on the bank and part hanging out a small distance over the surface of the water, or the entire structure was built on the bank except the water-wheel, which naturally reached out a short distance into the stream or run. The essentials for the finer paper were clean, white linen rags, and an abundance of clear, flowing water, free from too much mineral matter. At this period the rags were thrown into a water-filled

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23. Isaiah Thomas, *History of printing in America*, 2nd edition, Albany, N. Y., 1874, Vol. 1, p. 20, although the information was, I believe, originally taken from a series of letters by McCulloch.

24. Hotchkin, *op. cit.*, p. 119, says that there was a dam and a race, but in this event the mill would not have been swept away, as the breaking of the dam would have caused the water to go down the regular stream, and not the run, and thus would have avoided the mill.

trough, and pounded by a stamping machine run by a trip hammer, being slowly beaten until they became a thin, fibrous pulp. They had previously been placed in a vat, in order to ferment and disintegrate, so that the trituration might make the mass more fluid. When the mass had been pounded to a proper consistency, it was taken to a large vat, where the "vatman" stood with his mould, merely a rectangular frame with a bottom of fine wires, closely set, running the length of the frame, and crossed by coarser wires, widely set, running its width. The skill of the paper-maker made up for the extremely primitive tools which he used. For he had to take up the proper amount of pulp into the mould, give it a peculiar twist to the right and left, in order to have the pulp spread evenly and drain properly, and remove the frame from the mould; then he gave the mould to a second man, called a "coucher," who drained more of the water from the paper and then, with a deft movement, flipped the thin, saturated layer of pulp on a felt pad slightly larger than the sheet of paper it held. Another worker took each sheet and sandwiched it between two felt pads, until he had one hundred and forty-four sheets, or a "quire" of paper. When he had six quires, or a "post," he placed them under a screw press, something like a cider mill, in order to squeeze out the excess water. Then all the workers were summoned to help turn the press, by means of a long lever, on which they all tugged. Next the papers were taken out of the felt pads and pressed all on one pile, in order to squeeze out the water that remained. After this the "layman" took four or five pieces of still moist paper together and placed them upon a length of hair rope, coated with beeswax, in a loft or some other place where the air was pure and free from dust. Here the paper remained until it was sufficiently dried, at which time it was dipped into a sizing, to make it impervious to ink. Several days were necessary to produce a specimen of dry, finished paper. If three men worked for the usual long hours, they might be able to make a maximum of about twenty posts, or approximately five-and-a-half reams of paper in a day. This process of making paper was in main most likely that in use at the Rittenhouse paper mill.[25]

We know exactly what the price of paper then was, for in the contract between William Bradford and William Rittenhouse, the

25. This entire process of paper-making is based on Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4, and Dard Hunter, *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries,* New York, 1930, pp. 118 ff.

price, as of 1697, was "ye writing paper to be at 20s [per ream] and ye brown paper at 6s pr. Ream."

Before the introduction of machinery, from four-and-a-half to to five-and-a-half reams of paper of the size of twenty by thirty inches was a day's work for three men working together. But while the yearly output of this one mill was hardly more than fifteen hundred reams, and quite possibly less, the importance of such an amount on the colonial market was enormous. Formerly, Bradford was compelled to import his entire supply from abroad, especially from England and the Low Lands, but now he could depend upon the larger part of the production of the new mill for his own use, while some of the paper would be retailed in Philadelphia for use as letters, account books, and for other miscellaneous purposes.

Several kinds of paper were made at the mill, including writing, printing, brown, and blue paper, as well as pasteboard. The product of the Rittenhouse mill at this time was excellent, not being discolored or brittle. Many of the books and almanacs which Bradford printed are made from it, as well as many early Philadelphia documents.

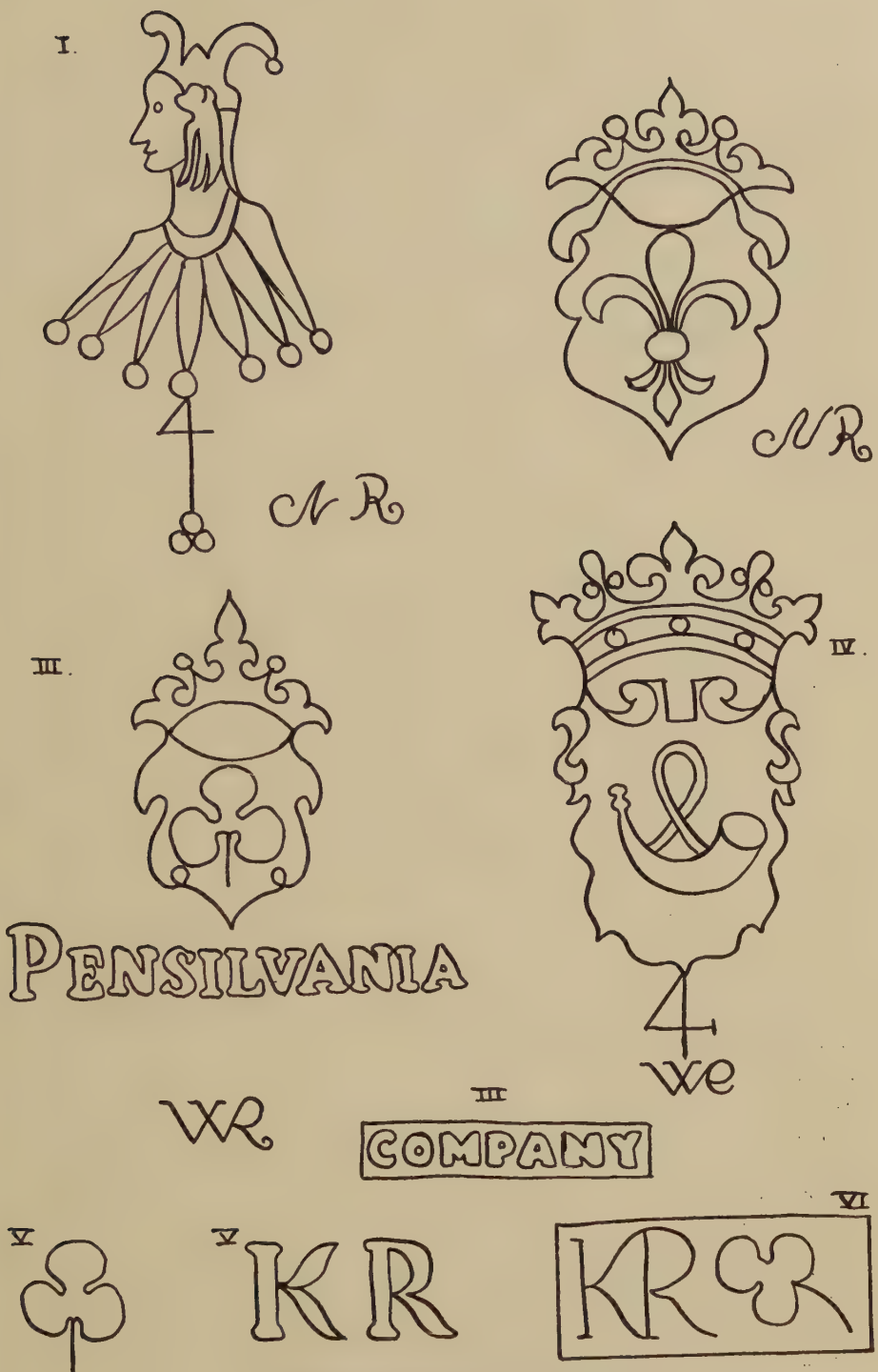
The subject of the water-marks in use at the mill in its first years is a separate study in itself. Probably the original paper-making moulds in use at the mill were brought over from Holland, or secured from there after the Rittenhouses arrived here.[26] They were doubtless plain moulds, with no netting for water-marks. A skilled man, however, could easily have filled in the desired design. A water-mark is produced by wires bent to the shape or design required, and sewed to the surface of the mould, so as to make the paper thinner in the place touched by the mould, The paper, upon being held up to the light, then gives much the effect of a silhouette.

We cannot determine with absolute accuracy which water-marks were first used at the Rittenhouse mill. The best we can do is to find pieces of water-marked paper which were used as documents, letters, or in books, and then determine which are found on the earliest dated paper. After a careful study of the subject, Mr. Magee has found that the first water-mark in use was a fool's head over a figure 4, which is in turn placed over three balls, placed

26. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 21, says that "Bradford also procured molds and other furniture for the mill," though it is not known on what evidence this statement is based. It is just as possible that the Rittenhouses brought the things needed with them.

much in the same position as the well-known pawnbroker's symbol, and having the letters NR, for Nicholas Rittenhouse, on the other side of the paper. This is found on paper of the foolscap size, the water-mark having given the name to the size. Mr. Magee has seen this design on paper dated as early as 1692. The second symbol was one with the word COMPANY, surrounded by a rectangular frame, and referring to the original partnership. The effect is none too professional looking, and the form may have been made by one of the workmen who was not, we may be sure, too skilled at making patterns on wire. This design is seen on paper from 1696 until about 1704, when Bradford, the last shareholder outside of the family, sold his interest in the mill, at which time we may suppose the design was discontinued. Also dating from the year 1696 is a water-mark with the ligatured monogram WR, the initials of the founder on one half of the sheet, while on the other half is the clover-leaf, trefoil, or *klee-blatt,* inside a shield, and surmounted by a kind of crown. Beneath the shield, in outline letters, is the word "Pensilvania." According to Mr. Dard Hunter, an authority on paper-making, this symbol shows the Dutch and French influence, for this design dates from about 1460, first appearing on French-made paper, and later on paper made in the Low Countries. By a series of metamorphoses it changed from a bull's head water-mark. The crown-and-shield with the fleur-de-lis represented the arms of France, and this design was often used by other paper-makers, presumably in reference to the direct descent of the House of Burgundy from the kings of France. Interestingly enough, William Caxton, the first English printer, used paper imported from the Low Lands with this same emblem.[27] The clover leaf, which had been used by paper-makers throughout Europe for centuries, first appearing in Italy, was substituted by Rittenhouse for the fleur-de-lis from the town seal of Germantown. Shortly before this, in 1686, Francis Daniel Pastorius had contrived this seal for the town, on the border of which the mill lay. Besides these symbols there were, at this time, two other water-marks in use. The one had the fleur-de-lis inside of a shield and surmounted by a crown, as in the "Pensilvania" mark, but having the letters NR on the other half of the paper. This design is found as early as 1696. The other is the

27. See Hunter, *op. cit.,* pp. 323-4.



RITTENHOUSE WATER MARKS

I. 1692; II. 1694; III. 1696; IV. 1698-1700; V. 1716; VI. 1719.

sign of the post horn, found for the first time about 1698-1700.[28] Many of these water-marks were used for quite a number of years, though the form changed somewhat through usage.

Some time after the establishment of the mill, in 1700 or 1701, the small stream which supplied the water power for the plant furnished a major tragedy. A freshet, or spring flood, swept away the entire mill and most of its implements. The only description of the fatality is contained in William Barton's *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse* (Philadelphia, 1813), [29] in a letter written by William Penn which has since been lost. Barton points out, however, that the freshet occurred some time during Penn's second visit to the province, which took place in 1699, and probably towards the end of the visit, in 1701.

> There is now before the writer of these memoirs a paper in the handwriting of the celebrated William Penn, and subscribed with his name, certifying that "William Rittinghousen and Claus" [Nicholas] "his son," then "part owners of the paper-mill near Germantown," had recently sustained a very great loss by a violent and sudden flood, which carried away the said mill, with a considerable quantity of paper, materials and tools, with other things therein, whereby they were reduced to great distress; and, therefore, recommending to such persons as should be disposed to lend them aid, to give the sufferers "relief and encouragement, in their needful and commendable employment," as they were "desirous to set up the paper-mill again." . . . In Mr. Penn's certificate he [William Rittenhouse] is called an old man, and is stated to have then been "decrepid."

Of the contents of the mill, some fifteen pounds, two shillings, and fourpence worth of wood and parts of the mill were saved, according to the bill of account given by the Rittenhouses to William Bradford.[30]

As Penn was genuinely interested in the progress of his colony, he was of course eager to see this important venture re-established, and managed to find like-minded friends who subscribed a sufficient amount of money for the re-erection of the mill, while he himself gave twenty five pounds towards the fund.[31] The Rittenhouses then selected another site a short distance from the original mill, if,

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28. See note 22 above.

29. Pages 83-4.

30. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-328, reproduces the document, with a letter.

31. According to Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 255, the letter was written by Penn while he was still in England. Samuel Carpenter wrote to him, telling of the accident, and the latter wrote back to Carpenter that he should give the Rittenhouses twenty-five pounds and charge it to the proprietary accounts. On the other hand Barton does not make it clear where Penn was at the time of the writing.

indeed, they did not build on the very same spot, and proceeded to erect another structure which was somewhat larger, probably in the early part of 1702.

From a letter which is still extant, it seems that Bradford did not help to any great extent towards the rebuilding of the mill, though he still kept his portion of the stock. But the Rittenhouses were continually trying to get control of all the shares. Having, by this time, bought out Tresse and Turner, they made overtures to Bradford, to see if they might buy his shares too. Bradford was at first willing to do as Tresse in the settlement of his claim against the mill, and on these conditions the Rittenhouses agreed to rebuild; but sometime later he seems to have made a different offer. Horatio Gates Jones suggested that it provided for a renewal of Bradford's paper monopoly. Whether or not it was this we do not know, but we do know that Rittenhouse refused it. From a letter, written by Nicholas Rittenhouse to William Bradford, dated May 12, 1703, we learn the conditions for the rebuilding of the mill. Bradford agreed to take his share of the materials saved, and the arrears of rent due, as Tresse, the third partner, had done, the sum of money being payed for with its equivalent in paper. The Rittenhouses did not undertake to renew Bradford's monopoly, as they preferred to give the men who helped re-erect the mill the first opportunity to purchase its products.

It was not until June 30, 1704, however, that Bradford consented to sell his interest in the mill. Two years later William Rittenhouse bought the land on which the mill was located for the rather generous period of nine hundred and seventy four years. In February 12, 1705-6 he ceded to Nicholas, his elder son, a three-quarter interest in the mill, and, when he died intestate in 1708, the remaining share passed to Nicholas.[32] The mill, after being renewed several times, remained in the possession of the family until it was torn down in 1891, having also, in its checkered career, served as a cotton factory.

While we have followed the elder Rittenhouse in this extremely important venture, it is interesting to note that he was also a pious churchman. Though he may have been born a member of the German Reformed Church, as we have seen, William Rittenhouse, at the time of his arrival in Pennsylvania, was a member of the Mennonite Church.

32. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

It is probable that in his later years he devoted more of his time to affairs of the church, and less to the paper mill. Certainly his connection with things ecclesiastical became closer towards the end of his life.

Almost as soon as he arrived in Germantown, he began to organize a congregation in the village among the families of Mennonite persuasion, then numbering about ten families, and about twenty members, and in 1690 he himself was elected their minister. As all the members were Dutch-speaking it is most probable that services were held in that language, in the homes of the various members of the congregation.

Some time after 1700 a letter was written to the mother church at Hamburg, Altona, Germany, requesting that a bishop be sent over, in order to ordain a bishop for the American church. As no one in Germany seemed particularly anxious to make the trip, the home church decided that someone in America might perform the functions of a bishop without actual ordination, and quoted scriptural precedents for this action. Rittenhouse, as minister, was the natural person to undertake this duty, but at first he hesitated. After some more correspondence between the two groups he was persuaded to follow their advice, but died before he actually took over the office.[33] From a letter in the Mennonite Archives in Amsterdam we learn that one of his acts, as minister, was to try to have the Mennonite *Confession of Faith* translated into English and printed by William Bradford. The latter, however, asked a price which was far beyond the means of the church. This little volume was first printed in English at Amsterdam in 1712, shortly after Rittenhouse's death. It was later reprinted, with an appendix, by Andrew Bradford, the son of William, in Philadelphia in 1727, having the honor of being the first book to be printed in the New World for the Pennsylvania Dutch. Moreover, the name of "Claes [i. e. Claus] Rittinghausen" appears among the names of the men who authorized the printing.

As a minister, Rittenhouse no doubt had part of his time occupied with officiating at weddings and funerals, and seeing that the members of his church took care of their own poor and needy, the latter

33. Harold S. Bender, "Was William Rittenhouse the First Mennonite Bishop in America?" in the January, 1933, issue of the *Menn. Quar. Review*, and "William Rittenhouse, 1644-1708: First Mennonite Minister in America," in the April, 1934, issue of the *Review*, where the common idea that William Rittenhouse was the first Mennonite bishop in this country is disproved.

being a function which the ministers of this group must perform. He also had to write sermons, or select and read them from books, and to conduct the services of his church.

In 1694 Jan Doeden and William Rittenhouse were appointed to take up a free will offering, in order to raise enough money to build a small house for a blind, old man and his wife, who came to Germantown in miserable plight, after wandering about in the wilds of Pennsylvania. This man, interestingly enough, had been the leader of a group of twenty-four Mennonites who had settled at Swaanandal or the "Valley of the Swans," in what is now the state of Delaware. In 1664 a contingent of soldiers under Captain Robert Carr destroyed the settlement and seized and carried away all the property that "belonged to the Quaking Society of Plockhoy," adding for emphasis, "to a very naile." The man's name was Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, an almost unknown, but nevertheless extremely interesting figure in the colonization of the New World.[34]

Of the private life of William Rittenhouse precious little is known outside of the names of his children, Nicholas, Gerhard or Garrett, and Elizabeth. He died on February 18, 1708, and now probably lies in the burial ground of the Mennonite church in Germantown, of which he and his sons were ministers, as well as members, and where a cenotaph has been erected in his honor.

The children of William Rittenhouse have likewise not provided an overabundance of material concerning their lives. Garrett seems to have had no connection with his father's mill, for in 1697 we find him in possession of a grist mill on Cresheim Creek. Elizabeth married Heivert (Howard) Papen, a miller, and the man who is said to have the somewhat dubious claim to fame of having built "the first stone house in Philadelphia."

By far the most important of the children of William was the elder son, Nicholas (Claus, or Klaas, etc.), born on June 15, 1666, in Broich. He came to this country with the rest of his family and was, as we have seen, always intimately associated with his father in the trade. He married Wilhelmina De Wees, the sister of William De Wees, in New York, in 1689.

While it has been the custom to call William Rittenhouse the first manufacturer of paper in this country, this is unquestionably a

34. Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania," in Vol. IX of the *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania-German Society* for 1898 (Lancaster, 1899), p. 262, and Keyser, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6.

partial injustice to his son, Nicholas. For it is a question, how much the elder Rittenhouse could have done without the aid of his eldest son, who seems to have been an excellent carpenter, as well as paper-maker.[35] As early as 1700 or 1701 Penn described the father as an old man, and "decrepid," so even at this early date he was probably little more than the nominal head, and not actually doing any great amount of work in the mill. Paper-workers worked long hours, in a very damp atmosphere, and their trade was most strenuous, so that they were likely to become old before their time, and this must have been the case with the elder Rittenhouse. How long he was "decrepid," and to what extent, we do not know. But, from the evidence which remains, it appears that Nicholas contributed quite as much, if not more than his father, to the success of the mill, and moreover was able to continue the establishment after the death of his father, a further proof of his ability. He continued to manufacture paper until his death, at the age of sixty-eight, some time after May 24, 1734, when, because he realized that he was dying, he made his will.

When Andrew Bradford established, in Philadelphia, the *American Weekly Mercury,* the first newspaper to be printed south of New England, on December 22, 1719, the paper on which it was printed was made at the Rittenhouse mill. The *New York Gazette,* the first paper printed in New York, and begun on November 8, 1725, was also on paper from this mill. Likewise the masterpiece of the Bradford press, the so-called "Second Bradford Laws," or *The Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania,* printed in 1728 by Andrew Bradford, is on paper bearing the water-mark of the Rittenhouse mill.

Nicholas Rittenhouse used many water-marks, some of them even when his father was the head of the mill. These he seems to have continued to use after he gained possession of the plant. In addition to those, from 1719 on, he used a KR, the "K" being for the Dutch *Klaas,* or the German *Klaus;* a clover leaf was inserted to the right of it, and both were inserted in a rectangle. Occasionally the KR appeared alone on one side of the sheet, and a clover leaf on the other side.[36] Paper with these water-marks was not only used in

35. Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 20, writing in 1810, was actually under the impression that Nicholas was the first paper-maker in this country, and does not mention the name of the elder Rittenhouse at all.

36. See note 22 above.

Philadelphia, but was also sent to New York, to Andrew Bradford.

From two letters which are still in existence, we learn that the paper was forwarded to Bradford in New York by land and water. Nicholas Pearse, who handled the printer's account in Philadelphia, usually paid for the paper, which was then sent to New York. Bradford was in the habit of paying for part of it by sending in return rags, always a difficult substance to obtain.[37] At that time they used linen rags to make all kinds of paper, including writing, printing, brown, and blue paper, as well as pasteboard.

The Rittenhouse mill was such a success that William De Wees, a brother-in-law of Nicholas, established the second paper mill in the colonies, in 1710, on the west side of the Wissahickon Creek, in that part of Germantown known as Crefeld, near the present line of Montgomery County, then called the "Manor of Springfield." It is certain that De Wees learned his trade from the Rittenhouses. However in 1713 this mill, and one hundred acres of land, were conveyed to "Abraham Tunis, William Streeper, Claus Rutting-huysen and John Gorgas" for the sum of one hundred and forty-five pounds. The deed of rental, however, does not show that the mill was still in operation. The water-mark was a post horn in a shield over the letters D. A. In 1729 De Wees made a business contract with his son-in-law, Henry Antes, to operate a combination grist and paper mill. Another paper mill seems to have been run by his son, for, on a map made in 1746, we find that "Hy. De Wees' Paper Mill" is situated about a half of a mile below this one, at the bend of the Wissahickon Creek.[38]

Like his father, Nicholas was also made a minister in the Mennonite church, certainly before 1725, and perhaps as early as 1712. He has the further distinction of being the grandfather of David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, who was born on April 8, 1732, shortly before his death, in the house which William and Nicholas Rittenhouse had built years previously. David's father was Matthew, the youngest son of Nicholas.

At an unknown date Nicholas had to build a new mill, for the one he made in 1702 later proved too small for the growth in busi-

37. See Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30, where they are reproduced. Cassel, *op. cit.*, p. 11, also quotes some correspondence between the Rittenhouses and Bradford. In no instance have I been able to locate the originals of any of the written matter I have quoted, nor have I found any letters or documents not known to Jones and Cassel.

38. Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 330, and Mr. Magee.

ness due to the increase in printing presses in the colonies. The new building was erected on the opposite side of the creek from the still-existing Rittenhouse home of 1707. This mill continued in operation long after the death of its builder, for his eldest son, William, carried on the trade there for many years. The latter used a clover leaf over a ligatured WR for his water-mark. The mill seems to have been rebuilt in the lifetime of William, or perhaps just after he gained possession of it. When William died, the mill passed into the hands of his son, Jacob, also a paper-maker, who used the symbol IR underneath a crown for his water-mark. Jacob died some time in the year 1811, leaving the mill to his nephews, Enoch and Samuel.[39] At this time and for years later, the mill was run by the Markle family, although the Rittenhouses still owned the land. Upon the death of Samuel, Enoch owned the property by himself until his own death in 1855. He thereupon left it to his cousin, Peter Rittenhouse. The fourth building in which the mill was operated was converted into a cotton factory abut 1820, and eventually, in 1891, was torn down by order of the Park Commission, while the site was incorporated into Fairmont Park. The sole reminder of William and Nicholas Rittenhouse, outside of the paper they made, is the home of the family which still stands on the Lincoln Drive where Rittenhouse Street comes down from Germantown.[40]

In studying history it is frequently necessary to point out that a trade was practiced, or an article was in use and was forgotten, years before it became known popularly, and was of no importance in bringing about its later revival. The Rittenhouse mill, on the other hand, remained in existence for about one hundred and fifty years, and was no doubt responsible in a great part for the fact that not only did other mills begin to make paper so early in Pennsylvania, but also that for years Pennsylvania had more and better mills than any other province. As such it assumes a degree of importance in the history of the nation, and most of the credit for it must go to William Rittenhouse and his son, Nicholas, as well as to their printer friend, William Bradford.

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39. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333.

40. In recent years a large Philadelphia paper-making concern has advertised that it is descended from the Rittenhouse mill. To me the evidence does not seem sufficient to warrant this claim.